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Collecting and Curating Objects of Ethnography: An ethnohistorical case study of the O.C. Edwards Collection

by

Laurie Anne Hart

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Textiles and Clothing

Department of Human Ecology

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ABSTRACT

This museum case study presents a biography of the O.C. Edwards Collection, which the University of Alberta acquired in 1919. Dr. Oliver Cromwell Edwards and Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards formed the collection of predominantly Blackfoot material culture, during his medical sojourns in Native communities in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the Northwest Territories. The changing contexts of the collection within the university reflect changes in approaches to museums, collections and Native culture. Information sources included archives, artifacts, and oral history. Highlighted is the history and the role of the first museum at the University of Alberta, the emerging disciplines and departments, the development of Native programmes and the future of the collection as a cultural, educational and research resource.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The study of the origins of objects and collections, and their subsequent recontextualization over time within the museum environment, is a challenging interdisciplinary endeavour. The history and development of a collection of material culture can be an indicator of change or continuity in a museum's role, policies, or ideology. Using a contextual approach to the past can also form an inspiring and provocative link with the contemporary problems of what to do with ethnographic collections in universities and museums.

The idea behind this research is that if we gain a collection's biography or history, we will also gain an understanding of the history and development of the institutions that shaped it. The O.C. Edwards Collection (hereafter referred to in this document as the Edwards Collection) is an ethnographic collection of predominantly Blackfoot material culture that was acquired by the University of Alberta in 1919, but its development due to its original collectors, Dr. Oliver Cromwell Edwards and Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards is also important to understanding how the collection context changed over time. I researched the identity of this particular collection as a cultural, educational, and research resource over the decades for the University of Alberta.

The study of material culture as it relates to Aboriginal peoples is also a complex undertaking, whatever the principal goals of the research. The aim of this research project was to present a biography of a museum collection. Since it has been kept together since the Edwards first collected it, its single identity as one collection of objects allowed it to be followed through life as a person could be followed to learn elements of his or her biography.

No museum can avoid the problems of representation inherent in the collection, interpretation and exhibition of other cultures. The recontextualization of artifacts through the museum process, a result of the Western European intellectual and scientific practice, was considered through this research. The activity of collecting artifacts from any culture and removing them from their original spatial and temporal location effectively decontextualized them. These artifacts were then reconstituted with new meaning within the museum. In universities and "stand-alone" museums, this new meaning is partly a result of the reconstruction of provenance by mostly non-Natives trained in the western intellectual and scientific tradition. The idea of the individual items of a museum's

collection as decontextualized, both temporally and spatially, is the main premise from which this investigation began.

The objects of the Edwards collection gained a new identity, were recontextualized, as artifacts within the environment of the university museum. This new identity resulted in new meanings for the artifacts within the museum. The reasons why a collection was acquired and transferred to other departments would be valuable to sketch the historical development of a collection within a museum (Pearce 1993).

Artifacts are paramount in most facets of material culture study, including archaeology and ethnography or ethnology. Besides artifacts, the other important resource is that of records or documentation, which are "the vital connecting links between the artifacts and their contexts--between the collections and whatever we wish to do with them" (Jeter, 1989, p. 169). Jeter called records complete, comprehensive documents like research reports or catalogues, and to more sketchy ones such as field notes and artifact labels (Jeter, 1989). Artifacts are objects that are mute without accompanying documentation to help them to tell their stories and connect them to their original contexts (ibid.).

One of the foremost responsibilities, or ethical duties, of all museums is to transfer to future generations the physical records of human culture (its collections) and related contextual information. However, no museum collection is an island unto itself. Its contents and the way it is managed are influenced by "changes in cultural, scholarly or educational trends, strengths and specializations developing in other institutions, policy and law regarding the traffic in various kinds of objects...and the desire to improve the collection" (American Association of Museums, 1978, p. 11).

To complete this research, an inquiry-oriented case study was developed to investigate how this collection was formed and how it changed through time. The three main sources of information I used were archives, artifacts, and oral history. I was interested in how the context of a collection could change over time and change within the institution which holds it. Changes in this collection's context have affected the storage, interpretation, display, and access to this collection. To examine this recontextualization, the reasons for this collection's acquisition, interpretation, storage, access, and display were documented. The role of the University of Alberta in this process was also investigated. Mainly ethnohistorical research methods, including archival research and informal interviews in combination with material culture theory, were used. The intention was to gain as thorough an understanding as possible of the

collection/acquisition process, the subsequent history of the Edwards Collection, and the recontextualization and use of the collection within the university.

The use of the ethnohistorical mode of investigation in the museum environment is relatively new. Anthropologists, historians, and material culture specialists including clothing and textiles scholars have been using it for about twenty years (Axtell, 1979; Churchill, 1987; Horne, 1988; Pannabecker, 1990; Trigger, 1986). As its name implies, ethnohistory is a conceptual and practical combination of the disciplines, or research modes, of ethnography and history. Ethnography, the study and description of foreign cultures (the "ethno") combined with historical method and theory becomes a dynamic and integrated discipline. It is the description of the history of foreign cultures from which one may make observations based upon the research question. Its aim is to understand an event, circumstance, behaviour, or activity within a past social or cultural context.

The research process, methods, and nature of the information collected fit well into a contextual way of interpreting what was learned. The outcome of the case study will contribute to previous case studies done by researchers concerning the collection, categorization, and recontextualization of artifacts by people who were not members of the culture who produced them. The results of this research may be useful for university teaching and research, by students, faculty, and outside researchers, as I will discuss issues of access and use of this collection with an emphasis on the circumstances of its acquisition in 1919 to the present day. An increase of knowledge about the collection as a rich resource of ethnographic, historical, and academic information for the campus community, and beyond, will be of positive benefit to the Alberta museum community and Native communities particularly.

Saumarez Smith (1989) explored the issues of recontextualization, or the changes in meaning of objects in a museum, and how this impacts on the interpretation and exhibition of artifacts. Objects in museums, according to the published literature accessed by Saumarez Smith, are said to "enter a safe and neutral ground, outside the arena where they are subjected to multiple pressures of meaning" (Saumarez Smith, 1989, p. 12). But once they enter a museum, the institution often "changes and adjusts the status of artefacts in its collections by the way they are presented and displayed, and it is important to be aware that museums are not neutral territory" (ibid.) Once in a museum, objects are not "frozen" there in terms of meaning. Saumarez Smith mentioned the activity of conservation, which helps to arrest decay or maintain artifacts physically, and may contribute to the idea that once in a museum objects are static.

In many ways, in the conservation as well as the interpretation of objects, elements of an object's history are inverted when attempts are made to restore an artifact's appearance and meaning to what it was when it was originally made (Saumarez Smith, 1989, p. 20). The changes in the original cultural context of the objects, if left in their original environment, which in the case of Native groups in North America was in transition on many levels, could perhaps damage the meaning of the objects through changes in their use. This possibility may have stimulated the so-called "salvage paradigm" (Crosby, 1991, p. 274) that developed among collectors of indigenous North American material culture.

The recontextualization and display of artifacts in the museum is the result of a long process beginning with the collection, identification, classification, and interpretation of material culture (Halpin, 1983; Johnson, 1984). The activity of collecting for museums--what kinds of artifacts of so-called "museum quality" were collected and why, and by whom, is important here. According to Halpin, "a research mandate for museum ethnologists is to explore the phenomenon of what we might call the "recontextualized" native object"(p. 271). Again, this all is connected to who has control over the objects, the museum or the Native culture which produced and used it in the first place. According to Freedman (1979, p. 136, *in* Halpin, 1983, p. 264), the isolation of artifacts in this artificial environment may cause them to "be decontextualized, oversimplified, perversely classified, discoloured, and in the eyes of the field anthropologist, disconsolately expatriate."

Artifacts combine many meanings, including the one from the original environment or context which governed its original designation or use, those meanings that have become attached it through history, and through interpretation and reinterpretation by those in a museum for research or exhibition. Durrans (1988) noted that while museums stress the re-presentation of the original context of the object, they rarely discuss the object's "alienation" (p. 162) from its original context. There is often insufficient information about provenance, and original/traditional use and meaning of objects in terms of documentation to pursue many of the more complex questions that objects are often used to answer. Although they exist in material form as independent entities, an object only becomes an artifact as a result of the interaction between it and the collector, curator, or museum (Taborsky, 1990).

The relationship between people and artifacts, and between museums and artifacts, is a dynamic one. Artifacts begin as objects designed, produced, and used for

a specific reason in its original environment (Richardson, 1989). Once objects have been created, they exist separately as physical entities, but are connected to a myriad of intangible concepts, values, signs and symbols as defined by human beings, who are not necessarily the creators. They become, in effect, "objects of knowledge" (Levi-Strauss, 1966, p. 22; Pearce, 1990a; Richardson, 1989; Tilley, 1989). This knowledge, or meaning that is created surrounding the physical objects serves to elucidate both the objects and the observer (Taborsky, 1990). In museums, according to Pearce, collections are

> an immensely complex body of material evidence, an archive which embraces not only the physical evidence of our human and natural past, but also of how this past has itself been interpreted as decade has succeeded decade, and layers of meaning have been generated through study and research (Pearce, 1993, p. 134).

It has been advanced by some material culture scholars that objects are like texts that can be read (Macdonald, 1996; Miller, 1985; Pearce, 1987, 1990a, 1990b, 1993; Richardson, 1989; Tilley, 1989), if only one could "decode" them. It is unknown when this idea first developed, or where, but in the mid-nineteenth century, Augustus Pitt Rivers, responsible for the creation of the Pitt Rivers Museum and known for his ideas on museum management and archaeological investigation, also believed that "objects could not lie: they were determinate, undeniable 'facts' that, when put together, conveyed a sense of truth" (Chapman, 1991, p. 138).

Others argue that such an endeavour is impossible, as the objects are robbed of context the moment they are removed from their original milieu (Turner, 1985; Vastokas, 1992; Wilson & Ashplant, 1988). Turner wrote about the form and meaning, the context, of artifacts and activities such as ceremonies, and defied Levi-Strauss' views which limits "anthropological research to texts, artefacts and mentefacts, products of human activity rather than man and woman alive" (Turner, 1985, p. 208). Research projects such as Churchill's (1987) that brought aboriginal experts in material culture into a museum followed Vastokas and Turner's ideas, and is reiterated by an African proverb recorded by Zona (1993, p. 35): "That which is made forgets - the maker forgets not."

The Edwards Collection consists of ethnographic material collected by Dr. Edwards and his wife Henrietta Muir Edwards, a well known legal and political advocate, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in southern Saskatchewan and Alberta (Collinson, 1977, 1979; Corbett, 1996; University of Alberta, n.d.). Dr. Edwards served people in the File Hill, Indian Head and Fort Qu'appelle area of Saskatchewan

from 1882 until 1897; he began collecting in 1884 (Collinson, 1977, 1979; University of Alberta, n.d.). He collected mostly Athabascan items from the area of Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, in 1900 while serving as medical officer with the party conducting the signing of Treaty Number 8. He then moved south to Fort Macleod where he served the people of the Blood and Peigan reservations from 1901-1910, where he and his wife collected most of the artifacts in the collection (Collinson, 1977, 1979; Corbett, 1996; University of Alberta, n.d.).

The collection is composed of a variety of artifacts, both ceremonial and utilitarian. Many of the artifacts in this collection reflect the originating culture's everyday material inventory. Utilitarian items such as bowls, baskets, parfleches, pipes, tools, and some ceremonial clothing items were in regular use at the time of acquisition. The collection was sold to the university in 1919 by Mrs. Edwards.

Besides objects attributed to the Blackfoot (specifically the Blood and Peigan), there are many items are attributed to other, regional groups. The Blackfoot traded extensively with a variety of groups from northern Alberta, British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana, which is reflected in the assortment of nonlocal items from the Athapaskan speaking groups, Cree, Kutenai, Mandan, Sioux, and Yakima (Ewers, 1985; University of Alberta, n.d.). Other artifacts in the collection have been identified as Nez Perce and Saulteax (University of Alberta, n.d.). Some artifacts from the most northern areas could also be Metis (P. McCormack, personal communication, September 28, 1998). Not all the objects not Blackfoot were collected by the Blackfoot and then by Dr. or Mrs. Edwards. In his travels as a medical doctor, he purchased items and received gifts from people in many different areas.

The examination of the Edwards Collection was useful for the following reasons. It was collected when most members of the Blackfoot were seeing continuous contact with non-Native peoples, with the introduction of non-Native settlement. The artifacts left the culture and communities of origin through fair exchange, sale, barter, or as gifts to the collectors. The collection's only known institutional home after leaving the original collector was the University of Alberta. The collection has been completely photographed, and has extensive related documentation on file, in the form of one of Dr. Edwards' diaries, accession reports, loan requests, conservation reports, and student papers on artifacts in the collection. It has also been catalogued and entered into a computerized database.

Presently, the established museum community is challenged to collect and portray Aboriginal material culture from innovative perspectives, based on a multiplicity of views from the museum, university, and Native communities. The reasons why connoisseurs, curators, and anthropologists collected the objects they did in the past are more indicative of Euro-centric world views, assumptions, and biases than of an accurate understanding of the originating cultures themselves.

This research compares with other research or published critical thought about the general trend in museums regarding the critical investigation of established practices and ideology as it relates to the acquisition, access, exhibition, and collection management (Pearce, 1993). Underlying the analysis is a conceptual framework based on an integrative, human ecological approach, which encourages the development of research frameworks and methodologies using a variety of sources. I applied this approach to my analysis of this collection.

One goal in the evaluation of aspects of research methodology was to develop a framework that would aid in the analysis of the genesis and development of objects and collections in the museum environment. Research strategies in ethnohistory, ethnoarchaeology, history, and art history have proved valuable in developing the research plan, as all have as their goal the understanding of human cultures through the study of what they create, whether it is music, folklore, art, or objects (Conklin, 1982; Horne, 1988; Layton, 1989; Prown, 1982).

While not completely "original" in its reason or design, this research combined the examination of several aspects of the study of ethnographic collections that material culture researchers have neglected. Few researchers have turned their attentions to the collection, recontextualization and exhibition process of ethnographic collections within universities. Taking an ethnohistorical approach to both the artifacts and the people involved (both with the acquisition of the collections and with the collections management and exhibition within the university over time), helped to integrate what was found.

People and groups not associated with universities have sometimes criticized the relative lack of public access to many university collections because of wider criticism of the relationship between museums and the public (Ames, Harrison, and Nicks, 1988; Churchill, 1987; Doxtator, 1988; McMaster, 1993; Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, 1994). As a result, projects like this are valuable and timely endeavours that are becoming increasingly relevant to many Canadian institutions. As well, issues of

access and social or community responsibility are coming to the forefront in the relationships between universities and the public.

The Department of Museums and Collections Services (MACS) at the University of Alberta is developing a variety of projects whose aim is to document the history and uses of all the University's collections, and to carry out projects designed to aid in the retrieval of collections information by students, faculty, and in the future, the public (A. Hayward, personal communication, November 12, 1996). These projects are the first of their kind at this institution. Unfortunately, they have generated little in the way of complete, more "public" reports to date.

The synthesis of the archival documentation about the Edwards Collection can be used as an information resource for university-based researchers from a variety of departments, as well as for interested members of the public. The fact that the University of Alberta houses the collection and most of its records relating to it does ease access somewhat, and through increased knowledge of the collection's existence on campus more students and faculty from a variety of disciplines will be attracted to it.

Appadurai's idea of the "life histories" or "careers" of objects (1986, p. 41) has influenced this project. He discusses objects as commodities with both economic, political, and social value or potential, whether for members within or outside the culture that produced the objects. One can trace the historical course of this circulation through the examination of the object's various contexts through time. For Appadurai,

> ...to illuminate the concrete, historical circulation of things...we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories...Thus, even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context (1986, p.5.)

The future of museums, and of collections within universities is becoming seen as more of a resource for the entire community rather than for people who work in museums. The idea of the museum and one's role in it is changing, particularly where Native material culture relates. The University of Alberta's ethnographic collections, while not "hidden away," are not publicized as a source of information for people outside the University of Alberta generally. The Edwards Collection and its associated documentation is a under-used resource on campus, for historical societies, Native Friendship Centres, artists, secondary schoolchildren, and the so-called "general public."

For the university to be an effective part of the community, it has to create more avenues of access to its collections and information. I hope that through the information

contained within this thesis, this collection (at least) may be seen as more of a community information resource. Museums can be a vehicle of expression for the community. A university museum or collection has the added value of having the goals of public education and the pursuit of knowledge and resources to further them. As such, it can be used by members of the community to store and portray elements of their experience, both historical and contemporary, which can be of educational, intellectual, or personal use to themselves and to others.

The definition of "museum" within the university context as I have defined it refers not to a single named 'museum' within the confines of the university, but rather to the concept and role of the museum. There is no single building that holds all the specimens that the university has. There are four named museums and over thirty different collections (consisting of many different collections of artifacts) housed at the university (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14a; University of Alberta, 1998, August 7). Most of the collections, or groups of collections, are department or discipline-specific, as indicated by their name (e.g., the Mechanical Engineering Collection, or the Law Art Collection.) Each collection or museum is managed by the faculty or department which is most closely associated with it, with the overall administration and support given by the Department of Museums and Collections Services. The Friends of the University of Alberta Museums, founded in 1984, also aids the museums and collections in a variety of ways, but mostly in terms of fundraising and promotion (Museums and Collections Services, 1994).

The existence of material culture is a result of an enormous variety of circumstances relating to environmental, cultural, and political events, as affected by human interaction. Studying material culture using a human ecological framework encourages investigation into other ways of thinking, and strategies or methods to venture past the often unconscious barriers created by the individual researcher's knowledge or orientation (Borden, Jamien, & Young, 1986; Hultgren, 1987). The theme of human ecology, of human beings in interaction with their environment, allowed me to explore my topic using information from a variety of disciplines. New to the approach to research using a human ecological framework, I endeavoured to find out all there was to know about it with regards to the study of human beings and their material culture. I found however that very little had been written that directly applied to my research area. I discovered, though, that the approach itself has been successfully adapted by a variety

researchers from many different disciplines to form the basis of their research frameworks.

This integrative approach to research also allowed me to explore a variety of concepts and methods from many disciplines or fields, in order to develop a synthesis or framework for my own research. This enabled me to add to my knowledge environment from which I designed my project, commenced and completed my project, and interpreted and analyzed my results. I discovered, after most of my research in the archives was done, that themes, both subtle and significant, were appearing. Working from a background of research from a mosaic of disciplines from which I could see links between, and useful for my research, those themes with similarities began to group together, providing a foundation for my research.

This foundation was centred on the ideas that I was looking at a Native collection that had been collected or obtained by non-Native people in the late nineteenth century. By this time, Aboriginal material culture was quickly disappearing out of the hands of its makers, and into those of private (non-Native) individuals, universities and other institutions. The ideas of the Native peoples of Canada were a "vanishing race", through 'civilization' or sickness resulted in an idea of salvaging all of their material culture before it was lost forever. I do not know how much the Edwards believed in this idea or paradigm. That it was widespread affected what was collected by many people, and what was done with it in museums, particularly in their early years. The reasons for the University of Alberta acquiring the collection were many, but its importance as an example of largely "traditional" material culture is a factor in its value.

My starting-point is in the field or discipline of museology, which I define as also including the field material culture studies and archaeology. The other fairly discrete fields of knowledge I draw from are ethnography, history, sociology, and art history. By using the case study approach to this research, I was able to focus on developing a biography of the Edwards Collection. Concentration on a single collection allowed for a better understanding of the many people, events, and processes that have affected its life since its acquisition.

The interdisciplinary nature of human ecology is its greatest strength in its application to material culture studies. The interplay between disciplines, perspectives, and methods that can be observed when investigating issues relating to material culture is also important to note. In interdisciplinary research, the discovery of patterns or interrelated motifs within the information collected can be united using human ecology as

a central concept to combine what is found into a united whole (Vaines, 1992, November).

The most important questions answered here are not about the objects in the Edwards Collection per se, such as what they are, or what they say about the cultures that produced them. Rather, the questions that this will address are how, when and why the collection was formed by Dr. and Mrs. Edwards, and when, why and how the University of Alberta acquired it and what has happened to it since it came to the University. The historical context developed includes attitudes toward collecting, classifying, storing and exhibiting Native material culture, the role of university museums, the collection's role within the university, and what the nature of that role might be in the future.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

In preparation for my active inquiry into a case study of the biography and uses of the Edwards Collection, I looked at how others studied collections. I examined methods used both historically and now, to see how other researchers handled information from various sources in material culture research. The methods have been varied, but most had as part of their foundation, information from the fields of museum studies, anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, and history.

Use of the Case Study

This case study in many ways can be considered ethnographic and ethnohistoric. Because of their genesis within another culture, I think of artifacts as another kind of ethnographic data. Many ideas relating to the collection of ethnographic data apply then, such as anonymity and confidentiality of information gathered during the research as it applies, and to the safety and well-being of "informants" as to how the researcher has documented and safeguarded them (University Standards, n.d.). We must weigh and justify the risks to both human beings and artifacts during material culture research, particularly concerning Aboriginal museum collections.

A case study is a form of field study defined by Touliatos and Compton as "nonexperimental investigations, large or small, that study existing relationships and situations of people in their everyday lives that do not attempt to manipulate or influence the subjects being studied" (1988, p. 231.) A case study is defined as "an in-depth analysis of an individual, a family, a culture, an organization, a program, or an event" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 244.) For the purposes of this research, I substituted the phrase "people in everyday lives" with "an ethnological collection in a university."

I decided to develop this research project using an evaluative case study format for the following reasons. The word "evaluative" regarding the case study format refers to an approach to the research that I feel is more value-oriented based upon the data, or evidence discovered (Touliatos and Compton, 1988). I wanted to look at one ethnographic collection's history in detail, to evaluate it within the University of Alberta's history of collecting and research.

The case study approach allowed me the freedom to decide where the research parameters would be, in order to make the most efficient use of the resources available. The criteria evaluated were decided upon both before, and during the active data

collection phase of the research. The parameters of this research are limited by the nature and size of the Edwards Collection, the extant archival data, and the recollections of it by living members within and without the university community.

I focussed my investigation on the history of the Edwards Collection, a single collection but touched on by elements of individual human histories and of the University of Alberta, educational programs and events that featured the collection, and lastly included elements of culture in various forms: of material culture generally, of Blackfoot material culture, and of the University of Alberta "culture" as well. My interest in this collection pertains to its existence and use within the institutional framework of the university, and of the university museum. The use of an historical approach was necessary to synthesize the relevant information to develop applicable generalizations.

Touliatos and Compton call a case study an approach that "lends itself to exploratory as well as descriptive and explanatory purposes" (1988, p. 245). Yin (1984, p. 23) calls the case study "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used."

Information Sources and Collection

The information collected for this project came from the following sources:

1. Primary sources: archival documents, which included correspondence, photographs, inventory lists, results or minutes of meetings, departmental or university annual reports, and the artifacts in the Edwards Collection and its related documentation, and information from oral history supplied by with people involved with collection, past and present.

2. Secondary sources: published sources: published background literature including published reports or catalogues of the Edwards Collection, newspaper articles, and some personal communications with people. I include personal communication as a secondary source sometimes, because the information received was "second hand" occasionally, from people who were not participants in the events as they occurred, but had information about it nonetheless. Information found on the World Wide Web is also included here.

I attempted to find all the primary sources I could relate to the Edwards themselves and their collection. The records associated with the Edwards Collection are both detailed and sketchy, depending on the source and reason for the information contained in each record. I could call none of them a "complete" record of the Edwards Collection, of its origins, contents, acquisition, uses, or where the university has housed it. The practice of "method triangulation" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, pp. 244, 262) was used to

integrate the information found on the collection, and is a combination of information sources and methods of obtaining the information. It is also an integrative method, in keeping with the human ecological approach to research.

My overarching method of data collection was qualitative and inductive. I sought to gain a general picture, "to understand phenomena and situations as a totality and they typically employ data gathering techniques that contribute to a complete picture of a particular situation" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 237.) I looked for themes, or patterns in my observations which are considered in the Chapter 3 below.

My methods were largely informal. As I gathered ever more information, new avenues of exploration presented themselves (sometimes as old ones disappeared). I could redirect my methods and observations along those avenues. Being a quasi-insider as I never left my physical field of study, I was also able to parallel data collection with some analysis and interpretation.

There were minimal records to do with the original collectors. I searched for evidence of their collecting, of what it meant to them personally. I used the University of Alberta Archives, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Glenbow Archives, the National Archives, and files maintained at the Department of Museums and Collections Services for any sign of their feelings for the objects or the Native peoples they were in contact with, and their collecting strategies. I discovered that both Dr. and Mrs. Edwards kept little record of what they acquired, by whom, where, or when. For example, in the "catalogues" or lists Mrs. Edward sent Dr. Allan around the time of acquisition she listed by name what she sent (UAA - Edwards, c. 1919) but did not include any descriptions of what each object was, of provenience, or who the original owner or maker was (see Appendix 1). The University of Alberta Archives and the Glenbow Archives held some records about the Edwards' collecting but the reasons for collection or acquisition of objects were not given.

The archival documents used ranged from correspondence, such as personal letters between the original collector/vendor and people at the museum at the university, and "official" departmental and institutional letters and documents such as memoranda concerning the Edwards Collection. The University of Alberta's Chief Archivist, Bryan Corbett, has noted that the contents of the university archives bear the university's "collective memory" (Pilger, 1988, p. 14). I also examined historical accounts of scientific and collecting expeditions, press releases, ethnographies, and diaries and field notes from various museum personnel who were part of the university. I identified three

integral elements of this "collective memory" during the archival investigation of the University's archive (after Pilger, 1988):

(1) the official records and documentation of and about the University of Alberta

(2) the personal and professional papers of the University's staff

(3) the personal and professional or official documentation of people who were not members of the University of Alberta's faculty or staff, but had contributed something to the University, such as Mrs. Edwards did when she sold the collection to the University.

All three elements of the archive are important to maintain and build upon the collective memory of the University of Alberta. The addition of complementary documentation such as that related to Dr. and Mrs. Edwards, is less related to the university itself, but is "reflecting on the importance of the University as a scholarly presence in Alberta" (Pilger, 1988, p. 15).

I surveyed the history of each individual artifact, or a group of similar artifacts. The information was found within the museum's own records included, for example, where the object was from, what cultural group made it (the identity of the individual craftsperson or owner was unfortunately not recorded), and who collected it. The identification of these objects as ethnological specimens and accessioned artifacts is only part of the search for the "identity" of the artifact however. Using both anthropological and historical "methods of assessment" (Pannabecker, 1990, p. 14) of many varied sources of information were turned into evidence.

The importance of fieldwork is stressed while applying ethnohistorical methods, where the researcher, through direct contact with a culture and how it interacts, gains a richer understanding of cultural processes. Here, it is research within the culture of a museum, and how it interacts with its material culture that helped to comprehend and "assess biased or inaccurate historical records" (Pannabecker, 1990, p. 16). While researching in the university and provincial archives, the similarities and differences between museums and archives struck me. The linear nature of archival data, even measured for how many metres of physical space they take up, invites a chronological, almost positivist line of interpretation, whereas artifacts and their related documentation become a more three-dimensional, even four-dimensional (with the inclusion of time) context which needed to be explored using a variety of methods and conceptual frameworks.

The fact that a collection exists means that there were reasons that it was collected and cared for, and those reasons, and the motivations behind them, will help answer the research questions. From Kopytoff (1986), I thought that to get "biographical" information from the records surrounding the collection, I would have to ask similar questions used by researchers investigating a human biography: Where did you come from? How did you get here? What have you done since you were delivered?

Pearce (1993) noted that the collection process is a historically dynamic one, "beginning" with the original collector's motivation and selection criteria, and continuing with the museum's selection of the collection, and its subsequent uses in research and exhibition. She also stated that the museum also grounds its subsequent interpretations of a collection on the initial reasons for its selection. The reasons why a collection was requested by or transferred to another area or department are valuable to sketch the historical development of a collection within the museum.

The discovery of the motivations and perceptions underlying the development of an ethnological collection was the next step. These motivations are particular to the individual human beings who operated under institutional and personal agendas, interests, and biases, which influenced the collection's development. As a researcher I was also prey to biases and conflicting interests. Martin has noted that it is best to "pretend to be a stranger" (Martin, 1994, January) to what we study, and to imagine that the past is indeed "a foreign country" (Lowenthal, 1985). I took no categories or sources of information for granted. Identification of categories in which objects in the collection were placed by the original collector and by the receiving department within the university was also included within this step. History is just that, and we can only investigate the past using what parts of it that have survived. According to Pearce (1993, p. 116-117), "evidence can never be checked against the past itself, only against other evidence."

Archival Investigation

I used "unstructured observations" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 144), throughout my research, particularly when I was investigating archival data and in my meetings with people. During my time investigating the holdings of the University of Alberta Archives, the Provincial Archives of Alberta, the Glenbow Archives, and the National Archives in Ottawa, several activities or methods proved useful in data discovery. To gain an understanding how each archives worked, and what sources of information were there to find, interaction with various archives' staff members was

invaluable. I kept detailed notes about all the records accessed, and included those which contained no useful information, to prevent accidentally requesting useless records. I also kept a notebook where I recorded those "little flashes of insight" almost everyone is bound to get whilst wandering between stacks of books or going through dozens of files. This notebook also included lists of additional sources to look up, and reminders of data to look for as suggested by archival documents. Four archives were consulted, as were departmental and master files of the University of Alberta and the Provincial Museum of Alberta, and newspaper articles. To reduce confusion about where each citation is from, each archival or primary reference cited in the text is prefaced by a two or three letter code signifying the archive, or form of information it came from:

GA Glenbow Archives
NA National Archives of Canada
NW Newspaper articles
PAA Provincial Archives of Alberta
PMA Provincial Museum of Alberta Master Files
UAA University of Alberta Archives
UDR University Departmental Records

Personal communications are stated as such in the text, and are listed in the Archival References Cited after the above are indicated.

Before long, I had amassed quite a bit of "raw" data as photocopies and handwritten notes of documents and photographs, and interview notes. It soon became necessary to organize it into categories for information management purposes. This I did using very basic categories at first, which I refined over time. My archival data ended up arranged under the following fourteen categories:

Collectors/Dr. Oliver Cromwell Edwards
Collectors/Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards
Curators/Dr. John Andrew Allan
Curators/Professor H.G. Glyde
Acquisition
University - Provincial Museum of Alberta Loan
University Departments/Geology
University Departments/Anthropology
University Departments/Art
Rutherford Library
University Art Gallery/University Collections
Exhibitions

Teaching Resources
Research Resources

Each category was internally divided according to each archival source of the information[1] As I re-categorized, sub-divided, recombined, and sometimes reduced the information in each file, major categories emerged, and "key linkages" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 243) appeared that helped me tie the categories together. My "analytic description" (ibidem) of events and processes at work is contained in Chapter 3.

Some of the most interesting records were anecdotal, which are defined as "brief, objective accounts of a single incident that the observer considers to be significant...[and] are usually written after the fact" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 144). One example of an anecdotal record is a note written by librarian Bruce Peel in 1963, which describes a tour of the Edwards Collection he gave for Mrs. Claudia Whipple, a granddaughter of the Edwards (UAA - Peel, 1963, October 3). Another is the recorded interview between Mrs. Whipple and Helen Collinson, which contained much interesting information about Whipple's memories of her grandparents, and what she remembered about the collection as it was stored on the Blood Reserve (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5).

I also used information from "indirect observations" (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 154), which is often used when examining archival records. One of the benefits of using archival sources for this research, particularly those related to the everyday functions of an institution which are stored as discrete bits of information in their "original" form, is that they result in data that is "relatively uncontaminated by reactivity" (ibidem, p. 154.) The filing systems of this institution were (and are) practiced largely for efficient information management, and not towards the structuring of information contained within. These archival sources then are considered not to be reactive to the agendas in existence at the time the documents were created. This nonreactivity is also a consequence of their collection, which is done routinely by institutions, usually with no view towards what their precise future research value will be (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 156-157.)

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[1]In the text of this document, each archives cited as a reference is coded with a two or three letter code, such as NA for the National Archives or UAA for the University of Alberta Archives. See the note at the Archival References Cited for a complete list of codes for each archives.

When I looked for relevant archival sources, I tried to take into account the possibilities of missing sources of valuable information, the lack of standards with which to equate the archival data (to know if I was locating all relevant information), and my own biases, which might have led me away from potential sources of data. They are also open to misinterpretation, as there are often many gaps in the records which can be explained in a variety of ways. As well, there was no way to search the entire archives for information, to narrow my search down from hundreds of metres of data to a manageable amount I had to use my background knowledge of the University's history, deduction and common sense to lead me through.

To complicate matters, it was not until the mid-1960s that a committee was brought together to discuss the formation of an archive for the University's official records (Collinson, 1977, p. 11). As well, until 1970, when the University Archives undertook a records survey, there was no clear record of what the Archives contained. One of the results of that survey was the completion in 1970 of a "document retention and disposal policy" (Corbett, 1992, p. Xviii) which was eventually approved by the University of Alberta Board of Governors in 1974.

This policy "defined University documents and classes of records which were to be transferred to the Archives and set broad retention periods for active records. It indicated those records which could be disposed of" (Corbett, 1992, p. Xviii). One of the stipulations of this policy was a twenty-five year hold on documents, so any records I wished to see that were created post-1972 could only be seen with permission of the transferring office. Upon investigation at various relevant university departments, such as Geology and Anthropology, I found that most records of the era I was most interested in, which pre-dated 1972, were in the archives already (if they still existed) (P. Mayne-Correia, personal communication, April 17, 1996).

My observations were mostly limited to material traces and archival records, with some anecdotal and "first hand" information from living human sources using unstructured interviews. Research using archival material can be a "tricky business." Like artifacts, archival documents exist today as a result of environmental, social, and political factors, not to mention basic serendipity. Most of the time, the letters, memos, lists, and photographs were left behind by people who did not know that they would one day reside in an archive and be used for research almost a century later. It was important then, for this method of data collection to be complemented by others such as interviews, as well as periodic re-examination of the published literature.

I found the information found in the University of Alberta Archives particularly valuable because they allowed me to gain indirect observation of past events in a more objective and direct way than through my access to anecdotal data such as recorded interviews. Although both kinds of information, archival and oral, are filtered by the original source of the information, the physical form of documents remains unchanged in an archive, whereas information gained through interviews is filtered in sometimes very subtle ways through both me and the person interviewed. Personal observations are often not recorded in organizations, and if they are, they are usually not donated to an institution's archive for posterity. So, through interviews I was able to add these personal reflections to complement the information I gathered in the archives.

To supplement what I found in the archives and from talking with people, I also used the World Wide Web. Access to the University of Alberta's extensive homepage allowed me to find much information about the history of the institution, and up-to-date developments on campus of all the departments I was interested in learning about. Many departments, for example, published their mission statements, administrative structure, images of their activities, recent news and future developments. Much of this information was unavailable in any of the libraries or the University Archives, so the Web was a welcome tool to use to incorporate "newer" information.

The archival records that helped build a chronology of the collection within the University of Alberta, in the University of Alberta Archives and Provincial Archives of Alberta were more numerous, and as a result helped to complement the existence of the group of objects as a collection of artifacts at the University of Alberta. When searching for records concerning the university's involvement with the collection, I focussed more on the raw records from various departments rather than published accounts such as histories of the university, and exhibit catalogues which contained information that was at least one person removed from the event and had also passed through the filters of the author or editor.

I looked at documents, written records, photographs, drawings and what Touliatos and Compton call "relics and remains...artifacts of historical significance that have been handed down from the past without conscious intention of conveying meaning to future generations" (1988, p. 300.) Part of my review of existing literature had included some of these written records in the form of university histories. I concentrated more on the documentary than the artifactual evidence because in reviewing the published

histories, I learned that they did not reflect all the important elements of the university's early history using all relevant archival documents.

Evaluating the archival information I found was the beginning of the end of a long process. Finding what I considered the most appropriate documentary sources from the various archives took quite a long time. Then the evaluation of the value of the information for the project, called "external criticism" and the evaluation of the meaning and veracity of the information, called "internal criticism" began (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 300).

Questions that I asked myself to determine the "content validity" (Leedy, 1985, p. 25) of the information sources and questions asked of them included:

- Who was the author, or producer of the information?
- Was the author a so-called reliable source?
- Is this an anecdotal or a first person account?
- When was the document written or photograph taken (for example) and for what purpose?
- Have documents or data been omitted?
- Are there gaps in a sequence of information (i.e., in a succession of annual reports, or minutes of meetings?
- Is there a lack of congruity between published and primary sources? (An example might be in a sequence of events described through archival documents, but not reflected in a published history related to those documents)

It was really the content of the documents that concerned me. I made the assumption that all the records were not "forgeries" as they had no value outside the information aspect. So the meaning and contextual information that these documents offered were most important, and I was therefore occupied with internal criticism of the data.

A passage by Woody on historical methods (1947, p. 190) is paraphrased here, and neatly describes the most important rules of historical research, which I found directly relevant to my time in the archives: I tried to be as objective as possible when viewing the data, by not judging the opinions or facts expressed in eighty year old documents by my own knowledge and values. I tried to keep in mind that the lack of documentation for certain aspects was not necessarily evidence of ignorance or conspiracy on the part those who lived in those earlier times. Archival documents, like any artifacts still exist today because of many factors, not the least of which being serendipity itself. I also acknowledged that their existence "entails consideration of the processes by which information about past events and conditions becomes recorded and

preserved in documents" (House, 1977, p. 242). Likewise, the lack of evidence for something did not mean that an event never occurred.

The occurrence of the same information from two seemingly different sources may signal a dependence on inaccurate information by two different sources or authors, or from a common source, accurate or not. One example is an incongruity I noticed in the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the Edwards Collection, which I describe in Chapter 3. If two different sources contradict each other, as they often will to varying degrees, one or the other may be true, or both are in error. I endeavoured to compare official documents with unofficial ones (i.e., memoranda or letters) as neither one tells the same story about a particular event. A document might shed light on an event or another source of information, but might even mislead.

Oral Histories

To aid in helping to distinguish a truer account of events, the use of the memories of people of the processes and activities involved in the collection's existence on campus was invaluable. The use of oral history for this research helped "as a means of infusing life into...collections" (Thompson, 1984, p. 45). I encountered "the problem of bias, contradiction, and interpretation" (Thompson, 1984, p. 44) in the archival evidence I was using. Although the archival evidence allowed the construction of a basic chronology of what happened and when, it was through talking with people on campus about the collection that helped me to construct the "how and why" (Treleven, 1990, p. 25) of many elements of the chronology.

The people I chose to contact personally to find out more about the acquisition, storage, exhibition, and research of the Edwards Collection are or were mostly members of the University of Alberta community. I identified them myself through my archival research, or through personal communication with researchers and other university personnel, and other students. Most of the people I came into contact with, because of their affiliation with the university, are involved in the dissemination of information in one form or another. As a result, I felt reasonably comfortable asking them information about past events as they related to my research. Prior to contact (or before specific questions were asked if I encountered a potentially valuable person "on the fly"), I described the project to each prospective respondent and outlined what I wanted to know from them in order to gain an interview and to allow for their "informed consent" to the interview (Agar, 1980, p. 183-184).

I used the "unstructured interview" method (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, p. 176), coming armed with only a list of topics with some general, open-ended questions under each topic I was interested in discussing. As what I wanted to know from most people I contacted concerned what happened in the past, the use of an unstructured interview style framed by open-ended questions, supplemented by more specific ones to help the respondent remember details, seemed a better method than a structured interview. I did not wish to restrict any responses to categories and I did not want to bias my information or frustrate my respondents by attempting to "make" them recall specific information from times past. I was most interested in their recollections and was not expecting specific responses about dates, times, places, and events. These exchanges were considered to be supplemental to the archival research, and indeed enriched the historical context I was trying to generate.

The Ethnohistorical Approach

I used an ethnohistorical approach to analyze the information encountered, as its interdisciplinary focus has been useful in past studies of material culture (Pannabecker, 1986). The main resources used in this investigation were the artifacts themselves, and the other primary and secondary documentation that may or may not be present within the museum confines.

Pannabecker (1990) notes that the respect for and reliance upon various sources of information in practicing ethnohistory can compensate for the relative lack of information using a single approach. The knowledge resulting from the experiences of fieldwork and documentary research is constructed (Wilson and Ashplant, 1988), and never discovered. Consequently, the interdisciplinary ethnohistorical method to the study of the creation and development of a particular museum and its ethnological collection was a useful approach when pursuing a multifaceted subject. According to Alexander, an interdisciplinary approach to material culture research is essential, because of the nature of objects--their immutability:

> ...objects are so believable, so convincing in their full-scale, three-dimensionality that, if used irresponsibly or carelessly, they can easily mislead their viewers. Sophisticated members of the public are accustomed to exert a certain amount of skepticism toward words, whether spoken or written, but are not so prepared to argue with objects (Alexander, 1979, p. 160-161).

Brigden (1984) described three levels of information which he considers important in the search for an object's historical context in museums: the physical details

of the objects themselves, oral information, and two dimensional background information (primary sources). He also noted the natural environment and how people fit into it as also necessary to develop the historical context of objects. He stated that the best that researchers can hope to deliver is an "informed opinion" (Brigden, 1984, p. 173), rather than be the ultimate voice of authority about objects, their meaning and context. Pearce (1993) describes "the museum archive" (p. 120) and its "museological inheritance" (p. 120) as a combination of artifacts, primary and secondary sources. The structure of this archive defines the ways that one can create meaning, and structures or limits its interpretation (ibid.)

CHAPTER 3: A COLLECTION BIOGRAPHY

The aim of this investigation was to complete an inquiry-oriented case study of the origins and development of the Edwards Collection. By using the case study approach to this research, I could focus on developing a biography of the Edwards Collection. Concentration on a single collection allowed for a better understanding of the many people, events, and processes that have affected its life since its acquisition. The aim was to gain a thorough understanding of the collection's biography, including its recontextualization and use within the university.

The sources used to understand the research topic, the historical development of museums and artifact collecting, university collections management, exhibition, and artifact interpretation and conservation are from a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, history, art history, museology, and conservation. Sources from areas under the "popular culture" umbrella are also included, because useful and timely information often finds its way into magazines and newspapers much more quickly than academic publications. Ames (1992) asserts that many of the changes to museums today are happening too fast for them to show up at the same rate in academic journals and other publications. So-called "popular culture" oriented magazines and newspapers are often good sources of up-to-date, valuable information. The Internet and the World Wide Web were also very useful sources of up-to-date information from museums and museum professionals, related news items, exhibitions, and controversy.

Research on museum collections has not been seen as terribly valuable until about the past twenty years, not very long considering the age of museums as we know it today (Pearce, 1993). Michael Ames, one of the most positive Canadian proponents of museum-based research, notes that it can indeed be "multifaceted...when it is conducted in a reflexive manner with an eye towards practical as well as theoretical applications" (Ames, 1992, p. 47). For universities, museums, and specifically for the University of Alberta,

> the collections as a whole are indicative of the history, geographical location, and disciplinary activities of the University. Most of the collections began when the University did, have grown with it, and have been an integral part of the life and work of the institution (Collinson, 1977, p. 11).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the first objectives of this research project were to investigate who the original collectors were, what their relationship was to the objects

they collected, and to the people they collected from. I describe the history of Dr. and Mrs. Edwards in this regard below. The history of the acquisition of the Edwards Collection by the University of Alberta is also presented, with a focus on the person at the University who was largely responsible for the University's acquisition of the collection, and the University's first museum that he established only a few years before. The contents of the Collection are next outlined. The collection did not come into the university in a single shipment. The nature of its arrival helps to explain some of the objects in the collection, but also raises questions of what did not make it into the university.

The idea of the individual items of a museum's collection as decontextualized, both temporally and spatially, is the main concept from which this inquiry began. The artifacts can also be considered as symbolic, in reference to Pearce (1993) who defined a symbol to be objects which are brought into a casual relationship with other artifacts to which they bear no intrinsic association. In this case, many objects in this collection are classified generally as "Blackfoot," but the collection is a mix of household, hunting, ceremonial, recreational and personal artifacts such as clothing and jewellery, that would never be stored together in its original cultural context as it is now. Thus, my interest did not expand to investigating the artifacts' use in its original cultural context. The results of which would have been extremely fragmentary at best, and better tackled by a member of the culture from which the objects came, or by an ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, or anthropological researcher interested in historical or contemporary Blackfoot culture.

The process of induction was important here--to develop a conclusion or synthesis of what I found. Strauss and Corbin (1990) define this kind of description as a reduction and organization of all the data studied, with "interpretive comments" (p. 22) scattered throughout to create an interpretive context. I have defined the idea of "reduction" of information as meaning a thematic grouping of information. Some interpretation is likely to be theoretical or speculative, and does not constitute all the resulting information. As I grouped the information I found under different categories, I noticed that groups of categories were coming together under conceptual or thematic ideas. The most significant idea was that of the biographical context of objects (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986) that can be discovered by tracing them through their various environments, uses, and perceptions by the human beings who came into contact with them.

The Character of Museum Collections: Concepts and Frameworks

Museum artifacts in collections are there as a result of environmental, geoarchaeological, and cultural factors, not the least of which was the subjective collecting strategies of anthropologists, historians, and private connoisseurs (Clifford, 1985, p. 239) Museums, wrote Carson (1978, p. 44), "are warehouses of largely unassimilated pieces of the past, just as archives curate written records by the shelfload against the day when scholars will put a few of them to use." They in no way can be expected to tell the whole story about any aspect of another culture, especially a "foreign" one. Material culture can be thought of as "ethnographic fragments", and the exhibition of them as "the art of the excerpt" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1991, p. 388). According to Karp and Levine (1991, p. 378):

> ...the image of the "other" is formed partly from images of class, ethnicity, and gender in Western cultures, partly from negation and inversion, partly from the "other's" images of their own "others," as they have been recorded and transmitted by explorers, colonials, and other occupants of cultural and imperial frontiers.

The idea of material culture, particularly from the past of a culture, existing only in fragments, and the resulting challenge of describing, analyzing, and interpreting for others the past lifeways of a culture is common to the discipline of archaeology. Interpretation of the objects to gain understanding of a past event or lifeway of a culture or society in archaeology, ethnography and ethnology is a dynamic process to better understand human beings through what they left behind.

According to Pearce, archaeology as a discipline "involves material culture and collecting *par excellence*" (1995, p. 10). Most archaeological collections, including those excavated from a single site, are incomplete, and exist as an incomplete example of a society's material culture. After excavation, many archaeological objects are on their way to becoming not only hard data for the archaeologist's research problem, but are also eligible for museum-based interpretation for exhibition and educational programs.

Most ethnographic collections in museums are also incomplete. They exist, for example, as a collection of objects created through a private collector's interest, passion, and whim for the objects, from a research project, or through a museum's gradual accumulation of similar or related objects over time. Add the often capricious factors of time, the inherent vice of an object's components, and luck--and a collection of ethnographic material is very similar to the creation or development of archaeological collections. According to Crowther (1989) archaeology, and I would argue, ethnography,

ethnology and the study of material culture in general, is "an especially powerful means for people to study people" (p. 35). Although in the case of prehistoric or pre-literate cultures, the task is made more difficult as objects are arguably more "mute" than usual.

The initial stage in the archaeological approach to the study of material culture, "the questions as to what it was, who made it, where, and when" (South, 1977, p. 7) is also the basic phase in "non-archaeological" artifact analysis. The sub-discipline of historical archaeology (or, archaeological history) utilizes many of the same information sources that historians, ethnographers, and university and museum based material culture scholars do, namely archival documents, oral histories, and living informants to aid in the study or analysis of artifacts which ultimately will aid in the understanding of the "cultural past" (Hume, 1978; Schiffer, 1977, p. 14; South, 1977, p. 6).

Schiffer (1977) contends that all research dealing with the past is historical, whether the main objects of study are biological, geological, astronomical, paleontological, or human (for examples). What differs is how each researcher makes connections between his or her present and the past, which involves examining "formation processes--specific to each domain--that cause the varied trajectories of materials through time and ultimately the formation of evidence of the past" (Schiffer, 1977, p. 13). This idea ties well into one of the more recently recognized assumptions about the past, that it is also an artifact, "one to be analyzed for what it tells about the culture creating it, not about the past per se" (Leone, 1981, p. 5).

The outcome of my research activities was to gain as thorough an understanding as possible of how the collection came to be, and the recontextualization and use of the collection within the university. The synthesis of the archival documentation was used to build the Edwards Collection's history or biography, particularly as it relates to its residence at the University of Alberta.

To develop an interpretive description of events and processes involving the Edwards Collection, I organized the information into themes based on the primary information I have gathered and from the published background of practical and theoretical literature. It is difficult to partition the interpretive process into discrete units, but generally it was divided into two phases:

1. The interpretation of sources for authenticity and validity.

2. Synthesis of information sources. Through combination and generalization of the information based on categories or themes, I was able to see conceptual linkages, as well as what kind of information stood out as "anomalies."

The development of the Collection since 1919 at the University is examined to investigate how changes in context have affected the storage, interpretation, display, and access to the Edwards Collection. To that end, the reasons for this collection's acquisition, interpretation, storage, and display were documented, relatively chronologically.

The University Museum

It was important to locate the university museum within the larger framework of museums generally, to compare it with "stand-alone" (non-university) institutions, to aid in understanding how the University of Alberta sees its role in the uses of collections for teaching and research. Humphrey (1992) noted that university museums differ from independent institutions in their academic role, and in their missions and requirements, are only a small segment of the broad array of challenges and priorities of the larger institution. The roles of the university and public museum sometimes differ with regards to research, as universities exist to promote research, and museums tend to view the activity as supplementary work (Halpin, 1983). The difference between stand-alone museums and universities, is in what is done with the objects and the knowledge connected to them.

It was also for the collections to help teach something at the university. Teaching using collections was and is done by getting close to an object, and noting what it is made from and how, and what the production of these objects cost its makers. In looking at how a collection is made, the importance placed on artifacts is often reflected in their storage facility (Ames, 1992). The amount and kind of access to objects also reflects an institution's wish to allow access to collections for education or research.

Besides where and how they are stored, how collections are classified by their managers also tells about their institution's consideration of its holdings. In western European or North American institutions like universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the artifacts of "traditional" cultures were displayed as part of the natural history component of many museums (Danilov, 1996). Aboriginal material culture was often classified in terms of its evolution from simpler to more sophisticated forms (Pearce, 1989). This was the case at the Geology and Palaeontology Museum, the Edwards Collection's first home at the University of Alberta, from 1919 to 1950. Dr. Allan had divided the museum's material into eleven divisions, eight of them having to do with

"natural history" or scientific specimens, including mineral, ore, petrology, and Mineral industry exhibits, geology models, vertebrate and invertebrate palaeontology. Three separate divisions to do with human beings included the Archaeological, Eskimo, and Indian Division (of which the Edwards Collection was a part).

There, Dr. Allan had classified all ethnographic artifacts and collections as part of natural history. This was a convenient catchall class, as Allan was first a geologist, then a museum curator who had a policy of accepting almost anything donated, and attempted to buy almost everything he could when it was offered no matter what kind of artifact it could be. Allan saw the disappearance of Indian material culture as emblematic of the physical disappearance of "these past monarchs of the prairies" (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24, p. 1). Allan in particular saw the value in storing everything that impacted on the history of the province of Alberta, or of western Canada, hoping that soon a provincial museum would be built that could better manage such a myriad undertaking (UAA - Alan, 1928, February 20).

Dr. Allan acquired a variety of collections for research and teaching from the outset, and also in preparation for the possibility of the establishment of a main, provincial museum where the extensive natural and cultural heritage of the province could be stored for posterity. The collections of ethnographic material culture from Native groups, Africa, South America, and elsewhere, his "curios" (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 3), were collected it seems, for the hopeful eventuality of a central museum for the province. They were included as part of the "natural history" of Allan's Geological and Palaeontological Museum.

Cameron (1971) has described museums as temples which help establish and maintain the values of the dominant society. They do this by subordinating the values and images of the Other to affirm dominant societal views, largely through exhibition, but to a lesser extent through the publication of exhibit catalogues and research articles on non-Western material culture. A reason for this is that the so-called dominant society usually consists of the socially designated 'educated classes.' Since universities are where many people in this 'class' are educated, it stands to reason that universities, and university museums, are one of the building blocks of museums outside the ivory tower.

The main point in many recent publications concerning museums and the 'Other', is that many of the hypotheses and views that surround the idea of the 'Other', which through exhibition and publications museums help to perpetuate, are often false, misguided, or simply outdated. The 'Other' in this case is related to Native material

culture. This is because non-Natives are the ones who collected most of the objects and developed museums and art galleries in Canada and elsewhere. The term 'Other' can be applied to any group of people different from the one doing the defining. The broad term "non-Native" is used here to mean Euro-Canadian or Euro-North American here, as non-Natives are largely responsible for the development of most institutions here in Canada such as museums and universities.

The history and development of ethnographic collections within museums was the result of the efforts by mostly non-Native, Western European, members of the middle to upper class, who collected, classified, interpreted and exhibited Native cultures as they saw them. As a result, the existence of these collections arguably say more about the museums and Euro-North American culture than about the originating cultures of the artifacts that museums hold (Hunt, 1991; Pearce, 1993, 1995). These collections, according to Pearce (1995) are a reflection of "Western agendas which are written into the construction of material narratives drawn from Western ideas of the exotic and how these support European notions of themselves" (p. 330).

University museums, according to Finlay, are often seen as "basically a library of teaching material" (1977, p. 84). According to Dyson (1990), where university museums differ from stand-alone museums is in terms of scale. A university museum could be restricted to one room with a few objects on display, no exhibits but with storage areas open to the public, or whole buildings consigned to all the university's collections or to a significant group of its holdings. According to Danilov (1996), most university museums contain a combination of broad and specialized collections. Some university museums might include collections stored by members of the department or faculty that collected them, often with a lack of funds for employing extra staff for curation, collections management, exhibition, or educational programs (Danilov, 1996; Dyson, 1990.)

How university collections are stored is an indicator of the degree of access afforded to artifacts, for both university researchers and the public, and perhaps how the university views these two groups. According to Collinson (1977), the University of Alberta Collections "as a whole are indicative of the history, geographical location, and disciplinary activities of the university" (p. 11). According to Ames (1992, p. 91), "the choice [of a storage system] is likely to be related to how people conceptualize the proper role of museums and how knowledge should be constructed and disseminated." In 1976, the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology created a system of "visible storage" (Ames, 1992, p. 91; Lambert, 1983.) Increased to the museum's teaching

collections was the primary goal. This form of storage, says Ames, "operated like a large library or supermarket, with the exception that customers can handle objects only under staff supervision; meanwhile, they have unhindered visual to collections and to the catalogue data" (Ames, 1992, p. 91).

Stand-alone museums in comparison, perceive the objects and their preservation as a primary goal, as well as the knowledge about them (Cannon-Brookes & Cannon-Brookes, 1989). These two institutions have been argued to have different roles with regards to the objects that they hold and manage, however related the object is to the knowledge they help to generate. According to Moore, who wrote specifically about the University of Alberta:

> ...the University's collections are not composed of a lot of useless dust covered objects...our collections are a vital part of the University's function, not as a museum, but as a quality institution for teaching and research; that the collection and use of specimens are, in many disciplines, as critical an aspect of teaching and research as are the collection and use of books...Collections are a necessity, not a frill, in the life of a respectable university! (Moore, 1990, Winter, p.1)

The traditional concept of museums and the historical and contemporary role they play in society is a Western construct, largely removed and even alien to many non-Western cultures. Today, many museums in Canada are still disregarded by many Native peoples for this reason. The fact that Canadian museums hold vast amounts of Aboriginal artifacts is now of great concern to these cultures. The acknowledgement of Native perspectives within the museum environment is now of prime importance, in the areas of interpretation and representation of material culture and history (Ames, 1986; Bastien & Bastien, 1992, November; Bielawski, 1985; Churchill, 1987; Conaty & Dumka, 1996; Crane, 1997; Crane Bear, 1997; Janes & Conaty, 1992, November; Rivard, 1985). However, particularly in Canada, there has been much written about the relationship between various Native groups and museums, and the responsibilities of museums to "their" artifacts' originating cultures in terms of ownership, interpretation, and usage (Task Force, 1992).

In the university environment, particularly at the University of Alberta, the initial collections held by the Geology Museum in the University's early years were eventually transferred to departments (as they sprang up) that were better equipped, intellectually or technologically, to care for them and use them in teaching and research (Corbett, 1992). The initial reasons for the Edwards Collection should not be forgotten, but attention was paid, where possible (where archival documents existed), to the reasons for transfer of the collection to other areas of the university, either for storage or use.

How the collection, the information about it, and its uses, have changed through time by its exposure to different departments and environments was also examined. From Kopytoff (1986), I thought that to get this "biographical" information from the records surrounding the collection, I would have to ask similar questions used by researchers investigating a human biography: Where did you come from? How did you get here? What have you done since you were delivered? Within the archival records, I discovered a variety of documents pertaining to the Edwards Collection, the Edwards themselves, as well as various memos, correspondence, and other departmental records pertaining to the collection's acquisition and life within the university.

The Collection Process

The most meaningful questions answered here concern the makeup of the historical context of the collections existence. This context includes the original collectors, Dr. and Mrs. Edwards, and their reasons for acquiring or accepting the objects they did. Dr. Edwards, and probably his wife, probably had many of the same feelings about the many groups of Native people as other Caucasian Canadians at the turn of the century: That Native peoples were seemingly "dying out" made it all the more tragic, and necessary, to collect aspects of their material culture before it too was lost. Dr. Edwards and his wife, along with other collectors at the same time such as Thaddeus Scriver, may have felt these same stirrings for material culture, but they also "were in the right place at the right time" (Scriver, 1990, p. xv) to buy or receive objects from Native people they knew.

Most of the historical information concentrated upon for the purpose of this research is based on what has been written between the nineteenth century, where the so-called "'Museum Period'" (McCaffrey, 1992, p. 35) began to the present. The Museum Period, which coincided with the development of the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology and their arrival into academia, lasted for over sixty years, from the 1860s to the 1920s (McCaffrey, 1992). This period was also the time when most of the intensive ethnographic and ethnological collecting took place, by private collectors, museum curators, and others linked to universities (which also were blooming during this period around the world) (Alexander, 1979; Ames, 1987, 1992; Impey and Macgregor, 1985; McCaffrey, 1992; Parezo, 1987b; Pearce, 1990b, 1993.)

The realm of collectors and collecting also began to be tackled by scholars who discussed the social, political, and psychological reasons why individual or private

collectors collected, as well as the reasons why institutions collected (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994; Pearce, 1991, 1993, 1995; Stewart, 1984). Miller (1987) discussed artifacts as modern fetishes, and discussed the act of collecting as a largely "European" activity, which was soon transmitted by the installation of museums to the Western world as a whole. Miller also discussed the development of systematic collections in museums and the objectification of artifacts in a complex relationship between creator and creation. Pearce (1993) also discussed the objectification of objects, and the creation or development of museum collections as a product of a dynamic, ongoing relationship between people and artifacts, which began with their original creation and continues with their use as artifacts within the context of the museum.

Hunt (1991) discussed the historical context surrounding the acquisition and contemporary symbolism of the beaded crown of the Elepe of Epe collected in 1903 by a colonial administrator who donated the item to the Aberdeen University Museum in Aberdeenshire in 1907 (but now resides in the British Museum.) Hunt considers that in the museum the artifact will "continue to play out the humilation of the Elepe and the manipulation of Yoruba beliefs in the interests of European pragmatism" (1991, p. 177.) Hunt also compares the literal and symbolic aspects of the original meeting between the colonial administrator and the Elepe and Yoruban chiefs, from both sides of the cultural equation, and comes to some interesting conclusions based on his observations of the rationale of the colonial administration and Yoruban belief system, and how this has translated into how the object was managed by the British Museum. The language of legal process and ritual, and the language of objects are still in play there. According to Hunt, the "identity" of an object, or a collection of culturally related objects, tell more about the identity and beliefs of the museum and the culture that produced it:

> the preservation of African objects in European museums does not represent a fixing of their defined or yet-to-be defined significance but is, on the contrary, a prolongation of the dialectic which they were created to generate. They will be polemical for as long as they exist (Hunt, 1991, p. 186.)

Views of Native Material Culture and Its Collection

How Native cultures have been viewed in the past by non-Natives and by museums as well as the history and contemporary views of members of Native cultures are important to note here, so a general summary of these perspectives has been included below. The direction of this section is a survey of non-Native views of Native cultures historically, with a focus on the ways of museums, material culture and

archaeology. These disciplines deal with three-dimensional artifacts that are recontextualized after collection or recovery.

The reasons for the donation of the Edwards Collection by Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards are documented and described below, but the reasons for the selection of the artifacts themselves, and the values ascribed to them by both Dr. and Mrs. Edwards are still a mystery. Therefore, an dependence on the published literature on the collection process and the reasons for collecting Native material culture is necessary here. This is an area which has come under scrutiny fairly recently, in the past twenty years or so (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994; Pearce, 1993).

The views held by non-Natives came about through visual media such as painting and photography historically. The literature is extensive in this area, and comes from a variety of sources, from curators, historians, artists, anthropologists and other commentators, and now includes many Aboriginal voices (Crane Bear, 1997; Crosby, 1991; Doxtator, 1988; Hill, 1988, 1989; Horn-Miller, 1993; Horse Capture, 1991; Laghi, 1994, April 10; McMaster, 1990, 1993; McMaster & Martin, 1992). The book by David Francis called The Imaginary Indian: The image of the Indian in Canadian Culture published in 1992 is an excellent source on the history and development of the image held by non-Natives of Aboriginal cultures in Canada. He begins with the idea that it was early Canadian painters like Paul Kane, Frederick Arthur Verner, and later Emily Carr who first portrayed for mass non-Native audiences the image of the "noble savage" for example, that has persisted up to the present day, in different and sometimes more subtle ways, in photography, television, motion pictures, and in museums. According to Francis (1992), "non-Native Canadians have put the image of the Indian into practice. They have assumed that the Imaginary Indian was real" (p. 194).

The word "Indian", is what Francis (1992) uses to refer to the false image of Native peoples. The old story told to schoolchildren about Columbus' navigational mistake which landed him on the shores of "India" and calling the inhabitants "Indians" was arguably the first mistaken impression of Native North Americans by Europeans (Francis, 1992, Green, 1973). When members of two different cultures meet each other for the first time without a frame of reference, they interpret each other using stereotypes, a natural cognitive activity. When one of the cultures has an economic, political, or technological advantage over the other, these stereotypes are used to maintain that advantage (Francis, 1992). The Euro-Canadian stereotypes of Native peoples in Canada have been mostly negative; their aim was to emphasize what Euro-Canadian

culture was not (ibid.). In the romanticism of the nineteenth century surrounding the image of Native people and culture, "the Indian is understood as the beautiful but tragic representative of a primitive, dying world which must give way to civilization and progress" (Green, 1973, p. 189).

Paintings were overtaken by photography in the late nineteenth century, but was used as the earlier art form was to capture the images of "dying cultures" (Hill, 1989; Lyman, 1982). Rick Hill, an Mohawk artist and curator, writes about how photography and Native cultures "have gone hand in hand for over a century, creating cultural stereotypes in our minds every time we hear the word "Indians" (1989, p. 32). He also notes that the identity of the photographer, and what is considered photographable varies greatly between Native and Non-Native photographers. Laghi (1994, April 10) states that Plains Indian cultures in particular were photographed in ways that Eastern Canadian society expected, "from scenes of primitive barbarians to objects of pity and scorn...The misleading stereotypes prevail today (p. C1). The objects collected from these peoples also reflected standard European views of what was expected in terms of culture, particularly "anything bladed, feathered or beaded" (Pearce, 1995).

Dr. Edwards, in his diaries, made no mention of a "collection", and did not describe his rationale or activities with respect to what was to be the "O.C. Edwards Collection" (GA - Edwards, 1900); Mrs. Edwards also left no records of her collecting activities (H. Collinson, personal communication, September 19, 1995). Speculation of their strategy could be informed from published accounts of other nineteenth century collectors of Native material culture, but must be considered conjecture as correspondence about why they collected what they did is unavailable. Some documents are held in the National Archives that Dr. Edwards sent in as medical reports, and some of his written statements reflect his care for his patients, but reveal a somewhat paternalistic feeling as relating to his role as a doctor (Collinson, 1985b).

Extensive collections of artifacts from indigenous North Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were formed by private collectors, museums, and universities. It was often done by most non-Native collectors with the inaccurate conviction that Aboriginal people would soon become assimilated or extinct. Their wish or desire to possess items of the "Other" that was different from their own cultural inventory for comparison or aesthetic appreciation also factored into this dynamic (Clifford, 1985; Durrans, 1988; Green, 1973; Pearce, 1990a; Pearce, 1995; Stocking, 1985). According to Hassrick (1985), Plains material culture has been collected from

1804, when the explorers Lewis and Clark travelled through this area. Later, men attached to military posts or exploring parties collected items. Collecting was relatively sporadic until the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the large museums of the eastern United States began collecting in earnest.

During the "reservation period" (Hassrick, 1985, p. 59) particularly after the turn of the century, an incentive for the production of a variety of objects was for the collector, who commissioned articles. According to Hassrick, in regards to the material culture of Blackfoot who lived in the United States, "men made bows and arrows, war clubs, pipes, and bonnets; women made tobacco bags and particularly moccasins for sale" (1985, p. 59). Regular, extensive collecting continued until the 1920s, "when the Plains had been stripped of most of its ethnographic items, the bulk of them deposited in repositories principally in Washington and New York" (Hassrick, 1985, p. 58).

The Collectors: Dr. O.C. Edwards and Mrs. H.M. Edwards

Below are brief biographical sketches of Dr. and Mrs. Edwards, who collected Native Canadian objects between 1882, when they moved west, and 1914, the year Dr. Edwards passed away. The main sources of information about Dr. Edwards are from the National Archives of Canada, transcriptions of conversations with the Edwards' granddaughter, Claudia Whipple, and copies of newspaper clippings in files about Dr. and Mrs. Edwards held by the Department of Museums and Collections Services on campus, and published sources, mostly produced by Helen Collinson (1977, 1979, 1985a; 1985b; Heth & Collinson, 1985).

References to Mrs. Edwards were found in several Canadian encyclopaedias, some of which contained references to her husband, but no individual entries were discovered specifically for him. No published sources of information about Dr. Edwards were found at all in the dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and publications dealing with Canadian and Albertan history that were consulted. No personal recollections of Dr. or Mrs. Edwards about objects they purchased or were given are recorded in these documents. Dr. Edwards wrote a diary during his trips north through the Peace River Country and to Fort Resolution, N.W.T., in 1900, which was in the possession of the Edwards' grandson, E.S. Gardiner. He assured Helen Collinson, who spoke to him about it, "that there is no information pertinent to the collection in the diary" (UDR - Collinson, 1973, December 31). The diary is now housed in the Glenbow Archives (Kooyman & Woelk).

The number of references for Mrs. Edwards are due to her longstanding legal work and publications, which were noted in all of the published sources about her. The information in the National Archives of Canada about Dr. Edwards are scattered, and it deals mostly with reports that he filed as an employee of Indian Affairs on his work on reserves and agencies and some personal letters about work concerns to government officials (see the Archival References Cited below). Documents held by the Glenbow Archives include some of the Edwards' correspondence, two diaries (one each from Dr. and Mrs. Edwards), photographs, news clippings, and various other documents (Kooyman & Woelk, 1992). The University of Alberta Archives contain few records about Edwards himself (University of Alberta Archives, 1997, June 23). Most of the documents and photographs housed there deal with the sale of the Edwards Collection to the University of Alberta. Most of this correspondence was generated by Mrs. Edwards and university officials about the negotiations for the sale of the collection, and some of its subsequent storage areas and uses at the University (Corbett, 1992).

It is known that Dr. Edwards came into possession of objects as gifts and through purchase, including commission (Dempsey, 1991; Robertson, 1993). Other collectors of Blackfoot material culture in particular, such as Thaddeus Scriver in Montana who collected at about the same time as Edwards, acquired items in similar ways. According to Scriver's son,

> he was not what one would call a serious collector but was in the right place at the right time when these collectibles were plentiful. Artifacts that museums and collectors of today deem extremely desirable were thought of in my dad's day as worthless "old" things by the Indians themselves and were discarded in exchange for newer items. Thus, traditional garb such as moccasins, breechcloths, leggings, and buckskin jackets were replaced by store-bought goods. As this evolution occurred, there came to be many Indian items on the reservation that could be acquired (Scriver, 1990, p. xv).

Because he lived closely with the Blackfoot (as did Dr. and Mrs. Edwards), Scriver was aware of the changes happening to the Blackfoot on reserves, and

> realized that much of the Blackfeet material culture would disappear unless items were accepted and cared for when offered for sale or presented as gifts. They placed these priceless treasures in trunks liberally sprinkled with Bull Durham tobacco (as vermin repellent) or displayed them in special rooms where they were hung on walls to be enjoyed for their beauty and nostalgia of days gone by (Scriver, 1990, p. xv).

The Scriver Collection was contributed by Bob Scriver to the Provincial Museum of Alberta in 1989, to "repatriate it" (Scriver, 1990, p. 291; Stepney & Goa, 1990).

Dr. Oliver Cromwell Edwards

Dr. Edwards was born in Clarence, Ontario, in 1847[2] (see Figure 1). He was educated at McGill University in Montreal, where he met Henrietta Louise Muir; they married in 1876. They had three children, William Muir, Alice, and Anne. Alice married Claude Gardiner, and their two children, Claudia and O.E.S. "Gard" Gardiner, later provided important information and objects to both the University of Alberta Archives and the Glenbow Archives (Corbett, 1992; Kooyman & Woelk, 1992).

He moved west to Saskatchewan in 1882, serving as Medical Officer for the File Hills-Fort Qu'Appelle Agency under the Indian Affairs Department until 1889 (NA - Edwards, 1897, June 28; NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14; Figure 3). Dr. Edwards' arrival marked the arrival of the first civilian physician in the Northwest Territories, "as there was no regular Mounted Police Medical Officer there to do the Indian work (as was the custom)" (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14, p. 2).

For much of his early years in the region, he was responsible for the medical care of the entire population under Treaty 4. Under his care were the Crooked Lakes, Indian Head, and Fort Qu'Appelle agencies and the File Hills and Touchwood Hill Reserves (Edwards, n.d.; NA - National Archives of Canada, 1995, July 15). His grand-daughter Claudia Whipple stated that Dr. Edwards and his family were "living outside the Fort at Qu'Appelle during the second Riel Rebellion and my aunt was born in a tent on the eve of the battle of Cut Knife Creek" (UDR - Whipple, 1971, November 12). Collinson (1985b) suspects that because Dr. Edwards was conscious of the threat of tuberculosis to his family (he had seen it attack the population living on reserves) he may have directed his family to live outside the Fort. In 1889 Dr. Edwards returned to Montreal because of ill health, and remained in central Canada until 1897 (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14).

In 1897, he moved to Indian Head, Saskatchewan. As he was appointed to work there on a salary but not by an Order-in-Council, within a month of moving his family with their belongings into the house he had built for them, "he was cashiered without a

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[2]Dr. Edwards' birth and death dates were found in documents in the University Archives, and its guide to holdings as 1847-1911 (Corbett, 1992). They do not correspond with fonds in the Glenbow Archives (Kooyman & Woelk, 1992), who state them as 1850-1915. His grand-daughter Claudia Whipple stated he died in 1914 (UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). In one newspaper article chronicling his life and times (NW - Well known pioneer has passed away, n.d.), it was noted that Edwards passed away at 64 years of age, which puts his date of death at 1911, if he was born in 1847 (or 1914 or 1915 if 1850 was the correct birth year).

moment's notice" (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14, p. 2). Edwards was convinced that "I was on the wrong side of politics" (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14, p. 2). Edwards thought that his own lack of engagement in politics of any sort had hampered his career, as he wished to work for the Indian Department on his own merits (ibid.). With Indian Agent Colonel Allan McDonald, Edwards travelled to all the Reserves under Treaty 4 giving medical treatment (NA - Edwards, 1897, June 28).

Later in 1897 he went to Regina. He served as doctor to the Regina Gaol there, doing "all N.W.M.P. medical work where the services of a...medical was required" (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14, p. 1). In his reports to Indian Affairs in Ottawa, he described what conditions were like for the people he cared for as a physician (NA - Edwards, 1897, June 28). In the reports he sent from the various posts he was in, his interest in and care for the people living there was clear, if somewhat paternal. In a letter to Wilfrid Laurier in 1897, Edwards described the poor living conditions of children forced to attend the Regina Industrial School, which he felt was contributing to the rise in tuberculosis in the community:

> A system of education fitted for the Anglo-Saxon in the end of the 19th Century has been attempted with a people just slightly removed from savages and the thing is absurd. From a sanitary standpoint this plan of housing up Indians is all wrong...These little people were brought up to live in teepees from the earliest spring to the latest autumn and to take these same children and house them in a big building is most detrimental to their health. If the Department [the Indian Department] had a consideration for their health based upon the most thorough knowledge which we at present possess it would provide good tents--properly pitched and these children should sleep under the canvas for at least six months in the year (in Collinson, 1985b, p. 12).

In 1900 he travelled northwest through the Peace Country in Alberta, serving as medical officer for the Indian Commission party under Acting Indian Commissioner McCrea (GA - Edwards, 1900; NA - Edwards, 1901, February 9; NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14). The Indian Commission was there to administer the signing of Treaty No. 8 at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta (NA - Edwards, 1901, February 9; NA - National Archives of Canada, 1995, July 15). Edwards' "trip diary" (Kooyman & Woelk, 1992), that he wrote in 1900, entitled On the North Trail contained descriptions of his travels up north between April 10 and September 25, 1900[3] (GA - Edwards, 1900). Unfortunately, only once is information about an object he collected mentioned. Edwards briefly discussed meeting

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[3]Fortunately, this diary will be published in March, 1999 including some photographs that Edwards took of his travels (D.W. Leonard, personal communication, September 4, 1998).

some Native people along the way, as helpers of the his party, or as patients, but most of his diary had to do with his own perception of the trip, and of the other members of the Indian Commission party.

On May 25, 1900, while camped along the Peace River, Edwards stated that he was presented by Mr. Harvie (a member of the Indian Commission party) with "a very pretty pair of mocassions [sic] this morning of moose skin. The part at the instep is prettily worked in silk" (GA - Edwards, 1900, p. 55). No more was said of where Harvie got the moccasins, or who made them (ibid.). In the University of Alberta's collection, there are five pairs of moccasins that Dr. Edwards collected on that trip in 1900. The two pairs from Fort Chipewyan are made of caribou hide and decorated with quillwork, so they do not relate to Edwards' description. One pair, from Fort Chipewyan was Woods Cree, and made from beaded moose hide, but was only trimmed with ermine, and not silk (University of Alberta, n.d.). Two pairs of Athabascan design were commissioned, and were made of moose hide and caribou and decorated with silk crewel work, porcupine quillwork, and horse hair. The silk crewel work included the letters "HE" on one pair, and "OE" on the other, relating to Mrs. and Dr. Edwards (University of Alberta, n.d.).

For travellers in the nineteenth century (and today for many people), most objects collected had to be

> "suitcase-sized." They must also be durable, and not given to organic disintegration or destruction through packing and storing, since most nineteenth century travellers were on extended tours of many months....Bead embroidery on hide or cloth was particularly suited to withstand such rugged storage conditions and became a popular take-home item (Hail and Duncan, 1989, p. 62).

Nowhere in his diary did Edwards mention that he had bought or bartered for anything from any of the Native people he came into contact with, but he did. Besides the moccasins, he obtained other objects such as a dog blanket and small, embroidered carrying bags (University of Alberta, n.d.). He was very descriptive about many, seemingly "everyday" events on the trail, and particularly special ones such as the celebration of his daughter's birthday (GA - Edwards, 1900, p. 15 - 16), so it is supposed that he would be sure to mention a special gift. He might not have mentioned it however, depending on the circumstances surrounding the day he obtained or received something. His receipt of two pairs of moccasins with personalized embroidery on them for himself and his wife, seems to have been a significant gift, but he did not record it.

Edwards recorded many interesting things about that trip though from Regina, then west to Calgary, then north to Edmonton, Lesser Slave Lake, Peace River Landing, Dunvegan, Fort Chipewyan, Fort Smith, and Fort Resolution. Edwards noted that nearing Fort Smith, he was "the first Government doctor ever here and myself and my medicines and all belongings of my tent is a source of interest and curiosity to these people" (GA - Edwards, 1900, p. 81) The trip back south took them through Fort McMurray back to Edmonton and Regina (GA - Edwards, 1900).

When he returned to Regina, he found that his position at the Regina Gaol had been given to another doctor (NA - Edwards, 1901, February 5; NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14). In 1901, he was appointed to the Blood and Peigan Reserves near Macleod, Alberta. Dr. Edwards and his family lived on the Blood Reserve, as a "headquarters" for the service of both the Blood and Peigan Reserves (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14, p. 4). No mention of his purchase of artifacts from people from the Blood or Peigan Reserve was found in documents from any of the Archives contacted. It can be assumed that he acquired the artifacts at this time. Some artifacts are medical in nature, reflecting his special interest in those kind of objects (P. McCormack, personal communication, September 23).

He served both reserves until ill health caused the Indian Department to relieve him of his attendance of the Peigan Reserve in 1910 (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14; NA - National Archives of Canada, 1995, July 15). There was much travel involved between the reserves, which Edwards had mentioned was getting more difficult for him to do (NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14). The Peigan Reserve, which had a smaller population than the Blood Reserve, would receive a doctor of its own.

He was well thought of throughout his career in the West, judging from the newspaper clipping read regarding his passing (NW - Well known pioneer has passed away, n.d.). In his writings to administrators and politicians about his work environment and his patients, he was quick to criticize the government's handling of its administration of the reserves, particularly by Acting District Indian Commissioners and Indian Agents (NA - Edwards, 1897, June 28; NA - Edwards, 1910, February 14). The Edwards' granddaughter, Claudia Whipple, related some of her memories of her grandparents to Helen Collinson in 1973. She related that "he was extremely gifted and could have been a Society Doctor, made a fortune but he preferred to be a missionary" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 3; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). As a child, Whipple accompanied her grandfather on his rounds on the Blood Reserve. In his work with

patients, Whipple said that "he treated his Indian patients exactly as he would anybody. The fact they were Indian made no difference, they were patients" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 4; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5).

It seems that Dr. Edwards' standing was different from the non-Native personnel of the previous century. According to Barrass, the feelings for Caucasian medical personnel in the late nineteenth century among the Blackfoot were not all positive: "Although hospitals were opened on Indian reserves, the Blackfoot were reluctant to trust white "medicine men"" (1976, p. xvi). Edwards kept well versed in the latest medical techniques, including surgery. Whipple described a meeting with an aunt who visited her grandparents, who was fresh from studies at Ottawa's General Hospital. After her aunt told Dr. Edwards about some important operations she had observed, he said "'I know child, I did that on an old Indian last week'" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 4; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). Dr. Edwards lived and worked on the Blood Reserve up until his death in 1911.

Henrietta Louise Muir Edwards

Henrietta Louise Muir Edwards was born in December 18, 1849 in Montreal (see Figure 2). She was active politically and publicly, interested in how the law pertained to women and children. She died in Macleod, Alberta, on November 10, 1931 (Marsh, 1988). Although described by her granddaughter as not having "a profession" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 2; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5), she was a busy woman: "...[she] lectured on Women's Rights. She took courses in tailoring and furrier. Mrs. Edwards also painted and did a great deal of work with the National Council of Women and the Legal Status of Women in Canada" (ibid.). She was a founding member of the Working Girls Association of Montreal in 1875 (Harman, 1966), a founding member of the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) in 1893, and the Victorian Order of Nurses (Marsh, 1988; Media Club of Canada, 1981, p. 238). The NCWC was developed to incorporate many different Canadian women's organizations under one motivated canopy (Brakeman, 1997; Roome, 1996). Edwards served as the first chairwoman of the NCWC's Standing Committee on Laws for thirty five years. This committee focussed on issues that directly affected women and children (Harman, 1966).

As Chairwoman of the NCWC, she was an advocate for equal parental rights, divorce on equal grounds, mother's allowances, raising the legal age of consent for marriage, legal remedies for deserted wives, and prison reform (Brakeman, 1997;

Harman, 1966; Roome, 1996). The NCWC is still in operation today as an advocate for women's issues (Brakeman, 1997). Edwards wrote one book and co-authored two others on the legal status of women and children in Alberta and Canada (Edwards, 1917; Edwards & National Council of Women of Canada, 1908; Edwards & Canada Department of Labour, 1924). According to Harman (1966, p. 172), Edwards was "instrumental in securing much of the legislation which improved social conditions over this period" (that she was active.)

She is best known in Alberta as one of the "Famous Five" women who brought a suit against the Canadian Supreme Court to the Privy Council in London, England in 1928, arguing for women to be considered legal "persons" under the British North America Act, and therefore eligible for appointment to the Senate of Canada (Harman, 1966). The Privy Council overruled the Canadian Supreme Court decision that women were not "persons" on October 18, 1929 (Bannerman, 1977). Mrs. Edwards completed most of the legal groundwork for that case, and lent her prestige as a longstanding member of the National Council of Women of Canada to shine on their efforts (Collinson, 1985b; Harman, 1966; Roome, 1996). Besides her legal work and related writings, she was also a well-known painter of miniatures which helped to finance her legal research and development of educational programs for women (Collinson, 1985b; Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1958). In later years, after she moved to Fort Macleod after her husband's death, she remained active in the province's division of the National Council of Women of Canada as vice-president, and prior to her death had been active in organizing Fort Macleod's public library (NW - Late Mrs. Edwards Will Be Laid to Rest in Edmonton, 1931).

In 1883, Mrs. Edwards and her children went west to Saskatchewan to join her husband, who had been appointed to the File Hills-Fort Qu'Appelle Agency a year earlier. For a period of time between 1890-1897, she and their three children went back east to Montreal, for the children to finish their educations (NW - Late Mrs. Edwards will be laid to rest at Edmonton, 1931; NW - Tribute Paid Noble Woman, 1931) She and two of her surviving children, William Muir and Alice, came to rejoin Dr. Edwards in Alberta at the Blood Reserve in 1901, where she resided until Dr. Edwards' death in 1911.

Claudia Whipple (Alice's daughter) made no mention of what Dr. Edwards' role or activities was with regards to the collection in her correspondence. Only Mrs. Edwards was mentioned in connection with the collection in any of Whipple's personal correspondence with university staff (UAA - Whipple, 1963, December 28; UAA -

Whipple, 1965, July 8; UDR - Whipple, 1971, November 12) or in the university staff's meetings with her (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February; UAA - Peel, 1963, October 3).

According to Mrs. Whipple, "my grandmother did a great deal of collecting herself" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 1; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). Collinson (1985b) also states that she "assembled most of the collection herself in the period of 1903 through 1914, while the family lived on the Blood Reserve" (p. 12). Collinson did not elaborate on the source of this statement (particularly the specific dates), but it is corroborated by the Edwards' granddaughter's memories. It could be that Collinson's information was taken from Claudia Whipple's recollection, however, and she neglected to cite the source of the information. Mrs. Edwards' participation in the development of the collection was reiterated by Dr. John A. Allan (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24), with whom Mrs. Edwards negotiated the sale of the collection to the university (discussed below).

Mrs. Edwards also lent many objects back to the members of the Blood Reserve who needed traditional or ceremonial garments or headdresses, "because they didn't have their own ceremonial robes anymore. My grandmother frequently lent the stuff out. Then the Indians would bring it back to her" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 1; UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). Whipple cited a specific example of a parade arranged and performed in by the Blood Indians in Fort Macleod for the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. They needed to borrow ceremonial headdresses from Mrs. Edwards for the event (UDR - Whipple, 1971, November 12). After Dr. Edwards passed away, his wife moved from the Blood Reserve into the town of Fort Macleod. It was around that time that she began to think about what to do with the collection (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February). Please see the section below, The Edwards' Collection: Acquisition, for more information about the circumstances of the collection's purchase by the University of Alberta.

Like her husband, Henrietta Louise Muir Edwards was a highly regarded, respected person. Her passing in 1931 was remarked upon in newspapers like the Macleod Gazette and the Edmonton Journal (NW - Campbell, 1931; NW - Kells, 1931; NW - Late Mrs. Edwards Will Be Laid to Rest, 1931; NW - Tribute Paid Noble Woman, 1931). The loss of "a recognized authority on laws for women and children", and "one of the mothers of women's suffrage in Canada" (NW - High Tribute Paid Prominent Woman, 1931) were some of the phrases related to this woman.

The University of Alberta: Its First Museum

The University of Alberta was established officially in 1908. It is one of the oldest collecting organizations in Western Canada, with some of the largest collections; it began collecting objects in 1910 (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b). Since its inception, there have been many histories written on the University of Alberta, as well as University of Alberta Master's theses on facets of the university's history (Alexander, 1929; Aytenfisu, 1982; Bilash, 1984; Collinson, 1977, 1979; Johns, 1981; Macdonald, 1958; Parker, 1982; Peel, 1965, 1979; Wallace, 1933). Very little, if anything, has been mentioned about the creation of the first museum, or of the activities of the man largely responsible for its existence, Dr. John A. Allan.

In the publications discussing "who's who at the University of Alberta" between 1908 and 1919, and 1919 and 1939 (Corbett, 1991, 1993), Dr. Allan's role and significance as one of the university's founding faculty and as a scholar is mentioned, along with many of his accomplishments at the university. No mention is made of the Geology Museum at all, or of Allan's involvement in its creation and development. This information was found after I searched the University of Alberta's Archives for documents pertaining to the Edwards Collection.

The theses by Aytenfisu (1982) and Bilash (1984) on the creation and development and role of the University, and books on the University's history by Collinson (1977, 1979) and Johns (1981) do not mention the Geology Museum itself, or indeed discuss the role of museums at all on campus. While having nothing to say about the existence of individual museums or collections at the University of Alberta, historical research by Aytenfisu (1982) and Bilash (1984) examined the creation, development, structure and role of the University of Alberta in its early years in terms of its relationship to the community and existence within a larger cultural landscape. Both works dealt with what the university meant to the people instrumental in its founding, and what meanings were represented by a small cluster of buildings and people perched on the bank of the North Saskatchewan River to the larger community. Looking at how the university developed, and how that development fit into or challenged the social, political, and natural systems in existence in the early twentieth century reflects a human ecological framework, though that was not the focus of either thesis (see the discussion of human ecology as a research perspective below).

Aytenfisu (1982) discussed the first twenty years of the University of Alberta, and its organization, objectives and role in the larger community. While she discussed the

men, including Dr. Allan, involved in the creation and development of the university in its infancy, no mention was made of the establishment of a museum. Bilash in particular looked at the university as a "cultural artefact" (1984, p. 2) in itself, and how it evolved from an idea in the mind of Premier Alexander Rutherford, to an act of Parliament in 1906, the selection of a physical site (and cultural and political implications of this), to a blueprint, to the finished buildings and the installment of staff and students. Bilash (1984) examined what was meant by the University of Alberta as an institution and how that compared to the ideas, ideals, and plans of its creators, including faculty members like Dr. Allan. No mention was made of museums, or of the university as having any objectives relating to heritage preservation as part of its role as an element of the regional cultural landscape (ibid.).

The publications by Johns (1981) and Collinson (1977, 1979) do not discuss museums per se, but pay more attention to individual, well known collections donated by people involved in the campus and Edmonton community. Collinson (1977, 1979) does mention the history of the Edwards Collection itself, as well as some history on Dr. and Mrs. Edwards as collectors. Johns (1981) does not mention the creation of any museums at the University of Alberta, and his only mention of collections is with regards to the donation of the Emma Read Newton Collection in 1949. That collection was described as "the first serious effort to initiate a gallery of art in the University" (Johns, 1981, p. 243). Mrs. Emma Read Newton and her husband, Dr. Robert Newton, a past president (1941-1951) of the University, were instrumental in establishing and developing a department of fine arts at the University (Johns, 1981). Even in his description of the Arts Building (the central teaching building for the campus) when it was first built in 1915 (the Geology Museum's first home), Johns described the building's interior spaces in great detail, but left out the Geology Museum. The museum was on the third floor in that building, which Johns described as an area of "still more accommodation" (Johns, 1981, p. 51).

Johns' only mention of a museum in the University's early history was in terms of future developments of the times. In 1946, he noted that it was thought that a "museum and fine arts building might be sited northeast of the Arts Building" (Johns, 1981, p. 212). Peel's (1965, 1979) history of the library system on campus recounted that the first library's home was also in the Arts Building. In 1951, when the library moved to the Rutherford building, the museum also went with it, but its transfer was not discussed.

The University began receiving gifts of historical, artistic or scientific value as soon as it was established. Dr. John A. Allan, first professor of geology, planned a museum of teaching specimens and began serious collecting upon his appointment in 1912 (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20). The University of Alberta realized the importance early in its existence in accepting and collecting objects of Albertan or Canadian history (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 20). In time, custody of the collections in fine and applied arts, archaeological and anthropological specimens which were presented to the University, became part of his responsibility. Each department had custody and maintenance of any gifts it received (Corbett, 1992).

There has been but one mention of the existence of a museum in the Department of Geology (or anywhere else on campus) in the several published histories on the University of Alberta (Wallace, 1933). In this publication, regarding the Department of Geology's services to the public, the museum was mentioned, but not by name, and not in conjunction with Dr. Allan. The museum's main focus according to Wallace, was "geological phenomena" (1933, p. 22), and the main public service was the identification of minerals, fossils, and physical (land) features of Alberta. Dr. Allan was not mentioned by name in connection with the museum, which was described in a section of Wallace's book devoted to "research work" (1933, p. 25) at the university. Wallace described the museum's contents in one paragraph:

> The museum collections of minerals, rocks, ores and fossils have an appraised value of over seventy-five thousand dollars. In addition, the museum has sections representing archaeology and indian and Esquimaux anthropology" (Wallace, 1933, p. 26).

Strangely, in Johns (1981) in relating a letter from the University of Alberta's President Robert Newton to Premier Manning in 1943, Newton proposed that the university be partnered with a "provincial museum of arts and crafts together with the provincial archives" (p. 191), without mentioning that a museum already existed at the university.

The only mention of collections by Johns was about the donation of the Emma Read Newton Collection in 1949, described as "the first serious effort to initiate a gallery of art in the university" (Johns, 1981, p. 243). One can perhaps surmise by this statement that "fine art" was considered "museum quality," and minerals and ethnographic "curios" as Allan called them (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 3), were specimens, and not considered of the same calibre.

Almost all the information on the history of the first museum at the University of Alberta was gathered in the university's Archives. The first museum, the University of

Alberta Geological and Palaeontological Museum, was due to the efforts and vision of Dr. John Andrew Allan (see Figure 4). The museum was also known simply as the Geology Museum. The former name was the one given when the museum applied for membership in the Museums Association (Arts and Sciences) based in London, England, in 1930 (UAA - Markham, 1930, September 25).

Allan was the first professor of the Department of Geology, and upon his appointment in 1912, "one of the first things I did was to start the embryonic nucleus of a museum" (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 9). He began planning a museum of teaching specimens. As a service to the public, the Department of Geology invited people to bring in specimens of rocks, minerals, and fossils for identification, as well as ethnographic objects (Wallace, 1933).

The museum was located on the top floor of the Arts Building, which was built in 1915 (Macdonald, 1958). In his description of the Arts Building when it was first built, Johns (1981) covered the building's interior spaces in detail, but did not mention the museum on the third floor. The Arts Building was the central teaching building until after World War Two, and it also housed the first university library (Johns, 1981; Peel, 1965).

From its beginning, the museum had no paid employees and it was under the care of the teaching staff of the Department of Geology, Dr. Allan in particular (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 10). Specific funding for the museum appeared to be nonexistent (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 10). Allan had his hands full with a variety of duties, both educational and administrative, that spanned the entire university. At its beginning in 1908-1909, the University had four people for teaching staff. That number grew to 27 in 1913-1914, when Allan came on board, and ballooned to 51 right before the first World War (Macdonald, 1958, p. 22).

Allan began collecting regularly in 1912, and soon amassed a variety of artifacts, from geology, natural history, and human history. Objects donated or sold to the University of Alberta, according to various Universty of Alberta Archives (UAA) documents included minerals, fossils, projectile points, swords, stamps, coins, war medals, and ethnographic material with origins in Alberta, Canada, the United States, South America, the Phillippines, and Africa, for example (Allan, 1927, December 13; UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20). The museum was divided into eleven divisions (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 10):

- Mineral Exhibits
- Ore Exhibits
- Rocks (Petrology Section)

- Invertebrate Palaeontology Division
- Vertebrate Palaeontology Division
- Geology and Physiography - Maps and Models
- Indian Division
- Esquimo [sic] Division
- Archaeological Division
- Mineral Industry Division
- Alberta Mineral Resources Division

In a letter to a prospective donor Dr. Allan stated: "I have always made it a point to obtain and look after any museum material of any kind" (UAA - Allan, 1924, April 8). His human material culture collection included archaeological and ethnographic objects, as well as fine and applied art objects. Allan had hoped that one day there would be a separate provincial museum to store Alberta's heritage, and "partly on this account I have endeavoured to obtain and accumulate many specimens of museum value other than geological, and specimens which if not looked after would be lost for all time" (UAA - Allan, 1928, April 28, p. 2).

As knowledge spread that the University was accepting specimens, it began to receive a variety of artifacts and specimens, either for donation, purchase, or identification. It would seem from what was accepted as donations that provenance was not an issue. In Allan's refusal of an "Indian ceremonial axe" offered for sale to the museum in 1930 (UAA - Allan, 1930, December 3), because of budgetary restrictions, no mention is made of the seller's statement, "I have done nothing about searching the grave where I found it" (UAA - Engel, 1930, November 23). Specific provenance did not seem to be a prerequisite for many of the fossils, minerals, and plant specimens, and was not for "curios" as Allan referred to ethnographic objects (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 3).

Many objects were sent either to the Geology Museum care of Dr. Allan, or to the appropriate university department. Indeed, as the artifacts increased in number, when received they usually went to the university department that could best use them in teaching. Each department with a collection became responsible for its maintenance (Corbett, 1992).

In a radio address on CKUA radio on "The Value of A Museum", on February 20, 1928, Allan said that "museum work has increased far beyond the available time of the members in my department. At no time have funds been available for the services of anyone to look after the specific needs in the museum"(UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 10). A lack of funds to purchase items other than material used for teaching purposes

in the Department of Geology (which included Palaeontology) was mentioned by Dr. Allan (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20; Allan, UAA - Allan, 1928, April 28). It seems by 1928 the bulk of donations were of minerals or fossils, both housed as "museum quality" specimens in the museum. By that time, unless ethnographic artifacts were donated, they could not be accepted due to budgetary constraints: "the funds at the present time are not available to even work up the several tons fossil material we now have in our palaeontological workshop at the University" (UAA - Allan, 1928, April 28, p. 2).

As mentioned above, very little information was found in the University of Alberta Archives that pertained to the early years of either the Geology Museum, or to departmental records about specific collections. According to the archival research aid from the University of Alberta Archives (Corbett, 1992), "record keeping was erratic and storage conditions were substandard" (p. 116). Whether the poor storage conditions pertained to both records and artifacts was unclear. However in 1929, about a decade after Edwards Collection's acquisition, many ethnographic artifacts had already been damaged by insects:

> We have a small collection of Indian and Eskimo curios, costumes, etc. There are in a separate room, and in spite of all the precautions taken, the collection has become infested with moths. I have had the entire collection gone over carefully on two former occasions, and then have used various sprays and other disinfectants, but have been unably to get rid of these pests (UAA - Allan, 1929, December 9).

In his radio address, Dr. Allan discussed the history, value and role of museums, and of the development of the University of Alberta's museum. He states that there were three main roles of a museum, to "preserve the relics of past ages...to render them accessible to students who wish to make a special study...[and] to educate the general public" (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 5). According to Allan (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 7), "a specimen of museum value should be retained within a museum and not in one's home where there is always the danger of loss even by fire."

Allan espoused the archaeologist Pitt Rivers' style of classification and display of ethnographic material for accessibility: "Indian collections should be arranged to show the variation between the different tribes and the variation from the primitive to the modern" (UAA - Allan, 1928, February 20, p. 7). The artifacts were displayed as curios, or objects of curiosity, with very little in the way of meanings attached through labelling (see Figure 5).

Pitt Rivers' Victorian collecting strategy and writings were linked to a Darwinist philosophy of evolution by natural selection and on which he based his typological

classification schemes for both collections and museums (Chapman, 1991; Hudson, 1987; Pearce, 1993). Many museums around the world still bear witness to Pitt Rivers' rather linear method of exhibition, both temporally and in terms of technology (that is, from "primitive" to "modern")[4]. Arguably, this rigid view and approach to museum display in particular did much to turn researchers (mostly anthropologists) away from museum-based research and towards cultural investigation 'in the field' (Chapman, 1991). When they turned back to museums, it was to understand and display artifacts with its cultural context as a base (Pearce, 1993; Stocking, 1974).

In universities, most collections and museums have a close relationship with the departments that they are most associated with, and with the larger institution itself. As with most university museums across North America, most of the collections were acquired by the members of academic departments for research or teaching. Many early museums and collections in universities grew out of "cabinets of curiosities" (Danilov, 1996, p. 53) collected by staff on behalf of their department of individual research interest.

Museums, according to Carr (1990) can construct and control knowledge in the way they define, display, and label objects. Cabinets of curiosities used very little in the way of labelling and no reference to cultural context, often combining disparate artifacts for effect (ibid.) The suppressing of information, objects, or context makes the museum a "thief of meaning" (Carr, 1990, p. 33) although it was not done with anything sinister in mind.

The Edwards' Collection: Acquisition

The actual date and circumstances of the collection's acquisition by the University of Alberta are not definite. Mrs. Edwards' granddaughter, Mrs. Claudia Whipple, put the sale in 1925 to the Province of Alberta, which retained the collection in the Legislature Library for a period of time (UAA - Whipple, 1965, July 8a). In a later interview, Whipple stated that "for a long time the collection was stuck up in the rotunda upstairs...of the Parliament Buildings...at the Legislature" before it came to the university (UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). The Guide to Native Sources at the University of Alberta Archives

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[4]According to Chapman (1991), Pitt Rivers' donation of a collection to Oxford in 1883, and his requirements that people be hired to curate it, resulted in the discipline of anthropology's earliest appearance in universities, leading to its eventual recognition as an academic discipline.

(Corbett, 1996) concurs with Whipple's information, stating that the collection was initially purchased by the Government of Alberta circa 1925 (Corbett, 1996, p. 111), although it does not state the exact source of this information in the archives.

Anecdotal information recorded by Collinson indicated that the collection was stored at the Legislature Building between 1914 and 1919 (UDR - Collinson, n.d.). Concerning the dearth of records relating to how the Dr. and Mrs. Edwards compiled the collection, from whom, where and when, Collinson remarked that "had there been a real kind of museum place for them to have been kept" perhaps these records would have been secured as part of the collection, and stored together with them (UDR - Collinson, n.d.). It is possible that Dr. and Mrs. Edwards did not create have any records for about the items they acquired. As the museum and collection "changed hands" over time at the university, particularly in the first six decades, a stable, secure location for any of the initial records was not possible.

In the Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta (1924, 1925, 1926) there was some mention of a Natural History Museum and a Museum mentioned, with expenses for collection and mounting, and some travelling expenses, but it was not stated that the museum was provincially run, or where it was located. As the same volumes also related information describing the revenue and expenses of the University of Alberta, I also looked through all the passages relating to the university for each of those years, and found nothing to do with the purchase of the collection. I found no record of any payment to Mrs. Edwards between 1918 and 1926 in the amount discussed for a collection of that size and value, which is more fully explained below. I found only one mention of Henrietta Muir Edwards. In 1925 there was one cash payment to her of $ 101.00 (PAA - Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta..., 1926, p. 249). No explanation was given for the amount paid.

In discussions with personnel at the Provincial Archives where to find more information about the expenses relating to the "Natural History Museum" or to pertaining to a payment to Mrs. Edwards, I was told that it would take literally days of my time to find probably equally slim information relating to either topic. It would take finding out the Minister and Department involved at the time that was involved in laying out the payments, and if that information was included in the Annual Reports of 1919 through 1925. In the records in the Public Accounts relating to the University, the categories relating to expenses were quite broad, and if additional records were found, the exact listing of all expenses paid would likely not be there. I was directed to contact the

Legislative Library for additional information, just to make sure that I had exhausted every avenue.

When I called the Legislative Library's Reference and Information Services office, I got a negative response to my queries. No knowledge of a museum ever having been in existence at the Legislature was indicated by the representative I spoke to. As to my question about the existence of documents there or in the Provincial Archives that might shed some more light on the mystery, particularly about the collection's purchase and storage, I was told that because of date of the sale and its obscure circumstances it would likely take me weeks of looking through metres of documents in the Provincial Archives (D. Leonard, personal communication, April 17, 1996). I was warned that I might very well not find what I was looking for anyway, so I made the decision not to pursue the matter further, and just use the information already uncovered at the Provincial and University of Alberta Archives.

Several days in the Provincial and University of Alberta Archives yielded little sign about the existence of a storage facility or a museum in the Legislature, or of exhibits during that period. However, I did find a couple of photographs in the Provincial Archives showing an exhibit room in the Legislature Building (Figure 6). I also found brief mention in the Public Accounts of a National History Museum being funded (PAA - Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta, 1924, 1925, 1926).

According to James Parker, a former University of Alberta archivist, the records relating to early financial transactions for the university are lost, as stated in his description of the state of the early Bursar's records of the University:

> These records do nothing more really than sort the transactions by amount and kind...The journals and ledgers are therefore of little value otherwise, except to trace vouchers when required. The vouchers themselves, consisting of invoices, pay sheets, etc., which show the complete details of the transactions, are far too voluminous to retain, and I presume have all been destroyed by this time (UAA - Parker, n.d., p.1).

Negotiations For The Collection

The University of Alberta was not Mrs. Edwards' first choice of a steward for the collection, nor was that institution the only one interested in it. According to the Edwards' granddaughter, "she offered it to the young Province of Alberta who hummed and hawed about it. I don't know how the State of New York heard about it but they came and offered her $10,000.00 for it" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 2). Mrs. Edwards

wished for the collection to stay in Canada, and preferably Alberta as she recognized its indigenous cultural value (UAA - Whipple, 1965, July 8a).

Her son William Muir Edwards was a professor of Civil and Municipal Engineering (one of the first four men President Tory personally chose to form the faculty) at the then six-year old University of Alberta, so she contacted that institution. In 1918, her son died, a victim of the Spanish flu epidemic that had swept through the university campus, and the rest of the city of Edmonton. He died tending to stricken patients in an infirmary set up in Pembina Hall (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February; Collinson, 1985b; Alexander, 1929; Macdonald, 1958; Parker, 1982). This sad event may have strengthened her resolve to let the collection go to the University of Alberta. She started negotiations in about 1919 with Dr. John Allan.

The arrival of the Edwards Collection seems to have been originally as a loan by Mrs. Edwards to the University, according to correspondence between Dr. Allan, then acting President, and Mrs. Edwards (UAA - Allan, 1919, February 21). Pilger (1988) also noted that "the collection had been housed there some time before it was purchased, probably through the good graces of her son, William Muir Edwards, who was one of the University's first four faculty members" (p. 19).

By October 1919, Allan had discussed the purchase of the collection with University of Alberta President Dr. H.M. Tory. In a subsequent letter to Mrs. Edwards, Allan stated that Tory was to take up the matter with the Premier within days. Allan also wished the collection to remain in Alberta, and was eager for the university to purchase it (Allan, 1919, October 20). Allan had pointed out to Tory that an agent from the Museum of the American Indian in New York, Mr. Donald A. Cadzow[5], also was interested in acquiring the collection. Cadzow was an archaeologist who travelled through Yukon and the Canadian Arctic in 1917-1918, and Western Canada, collecting "costumes and many copper and other utilitarian objects" (Museum of the American Indian, 1964, p. 12) for the Museum of the American Indian and doing ethnological work among the Loucheaux and Inuit (ibid.).

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[5]The name of the Museum of the American Indian's agent has been spelled both "Cadzow" and "Cadzo" in various documents accessed in the University of Alberta Archives. It is spelled as "Cadzow" in the publication by the Museum of the American Indian (1964) which employed him, so it is surmised that the misspellings were a result of mistyping at the local level.

In 1919, David Ross McCord presented a sizable collection to McGill University, to form the basis of what was then called The McCord National Museum. According to Allan (an alumnus of McGill), he had "recently received a request from MrMcCord [sic] to obtain donations from Alberta and western Canada of objects of Indian manufacture... for this national museum" (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24, p. 3). In the same article, Allan stated firmly that it was important to keep 'Indian' items native to the province of the Dominion there, and was keen on the future creation of a Provincial Museum to this end. The fact that other parties were also interested in its value as a museum collection also helped to keep the negotiations running for the University of Alberta.

The bulk of the collection was at the university (as a loan) by October 1919, judging by a letter from Mrs. Edwards to Dr. Allan that discussed the showing of the collection to Mr. Cadzow. In the letter, Mrs. Edwards asked if Dr. Allan remembered arranging for her to show Cadzow the collection, something that she would not need help with if she still had possession of it in her home in Fort Macleod. In the letter, she remarked on how impressed Cadzow was with the contents of the collection:

> Mr. Cadzo[sic] told me it was the best collection of Indian works owned by a private individual that he had ever seen, not so much because of quantity but because of the scientific value (UAA - Edwards, 1919, October 11).

It seems from Mrs. Edwards' letter that based on the price that the American museum was willing to pay, she felt unable to donate the collection to the University. She did hope, as Dr. Allan did, that the University of Alberta could purchase the collection to prevent it going to an American museum. Cadzow had told her that "a similar collection collected separately could not now be secured for the amount named which was $5000. The amount I had quoted Dr. Tory" (UAA - Edwards, 1919, October 11). Her terms for the sale were as follows:

> I would be pleased to sell it to the University in what real estate agents call 'terms'. A nominal cash payment could be made and the rest of the amount left at interest for a term of years. This would be quite satisfactory to me as I would wish to invest the amount for the Children's education (Edwards, 1919, October 11)

Dr. Allan, in a letter to Mrs. Edwards on October 20, noted that she still had at her home in Fort Macleod "a number of the most valuable articles" (UAA - Allan, 1919, October 20), and pointed out that observation to Dr. Tory. Allan also noted that Mr. Cadzow was also still extremely interested in acquiring the collection for the American

museum. Dr. Tory, according to Allan, was "anxious to have your collection procured for the University. He is taking this matter up with the Premier, and stated that he would be able to give you an answer within three or four days" (ibid.) By December 1919, apparently negotiations were still ongoing, between the President and the Board of Governors about the purchase of the collection. In a letter about the state of the negotiations to Mrs. Edwards, the Board of Governors' Secretary D.S. Mackenzie asked for her to supply a catalogue of descriptions of each object, *if* "negotiations have sufficiently advanced to warrant your doing so" (UAA - Mackenzie, 1919, December 5). According to Mrs. Edwards' granddaughter Claudia Whipple, after some further negotiation with Dr. Allan, they agreed upon a purchase price, which was paid for by "Province of Alberta bonds that were worth 50¢ on the dollar so they got the collection for $500.00" (UDR - Collinson, 1974, February, p. 2). Whipple did not state when exactly they paid for the collection however (ibid.).

Some of the university archival documents found contradict themselves on this subject. In a letter to Dr. Allan from Mrs. Edwards dated December 20, 1919 in reference to a catalogue she had also sent, she stated that the collection had been sold to the university on November 10, 1919. At this time, she had evidently not received a "regular bill of sale stating the conditions of sale" (UAA - Edwards, 1919, December 20). She stated that the price was still $5,000.00, and that the University would pay $1000.00 to her at that point, with the remainder paid later. She also reminded that her husband's name was to be attached to the collection (ibid.). In a note written by Rutherford Librarian Bruce Peel some forty five years later regarding the original acquisition of the collection, Peel wrote that "Mrs. Edwards was offered $10,000 for the collection from a New York museum--she preferred to keep in Alta [sic]. It was bought by the university Board of Governors for $5,000 and paid for in Social Credit script [sic] on which Mrs. Edwards realized only a few cents on the dollar" (UAA - Peel,1963, October 3). Social Credit scrip was first issued by a special committee of Calgary city council in 1933 to act as the equivalent of money to pay part of the city's debts and city employees' salaries (Finkel, 1989, p. 37). The "scrip money" (Finkel, 1989, p. 42) was then issued by the province in 1935 to help to pay wages and debts. As Mrs. Edwards died in 1931, it could not have been Social Credit scrip that paid her for the collection, unless it was paid to her estate. No documents were found to determine if this is the case.

In a letter Mrs. Edwards sent to Dr. Allan in 1930, she still did not have a written agreement from Dr. Tory about having her husband's name attached to the collection "as a memorial" although it appears that she was not concerned at all that the deal was an oral one (UAA - Edwards, 1930, January 8). Collections owned by private individuals are often endowed with much sentiment, forming a connection between their experiences and memories of them. The motivation for contributing a collection to a museum also leads to a kind of immortality for the collector (Harrison, 1981; Pearce, 1995). As long as Dr. Edwards' name was attached to all the objects, it was also not a condition of sale that the collection be kept together (UAA - Edwards, 1930, January 8). In his response to Mrs. Edwards' letter, Dr. Allan agreed with her statements that the collection could be broken up "in order to conform with the arrangement for classifying such material in the museum" (UAA - Allan, 1930, January 11). In 1930, the collection was still housed under Dr. Allan's care, "in the ethnological collection of the Geological and Palaeontological Museum" (ibid.).

At President Johns' request, Mrs. Whipple sent a typed document (Whipple, 1965) to the university in 1965 with details about how the Edwards collected the objects, and the circumstances surrounding the university's acquisition of the collection. There was a need to "help clarify the mystery surrounding it at present" (UAA - Whipple, 1965, July 8). She mentioned that at the time the university was negotiating with Mrs. Edwards for the collection, she was offered a sizeable amount of money for it by the Museum of the American Indian in New York City. In the document, she states:

> In the early 1920's the State of New York offered Mrs. Edwards (then widowed) the sum of ten thousand dollars ($10,000.00) for this collection, but she felt that it was a Canadian Collection and as such, should remain in Canada, so she offered the Alberta Government the opportunity to buy it. Sometime around 1925 the Province agreed to purchase it, paying five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) in Provincial Government bonds for it. Later, when her Estate was settled these dame [sic] bonds realized two thousand five hundred dollars ($2,500.00) so the Province of Alberta really got a bargain. The Collection was housed for several years in the Legislative Buildings in the Library, in Edmonton, but space was limited and after a time the whole thing was boxed and put in storage. Later, for want of a better place it was transfered [sic] to the University of Alberta, where it now is, waiting for a suitable place to display it (UAA - Whipple, 1965, July 8a).

Contents of the Collection, 1919

As mentioned above, many of the records to negotiations, or to the collection's early years at the university have not survived. It is possible that they are perhaps filed

inconspicuously elsewhere within the University of Alberta Archives, perhaps among the archival documents of departments or correspondence that were not looked at because they were not indicated by archivists or the guides to the holdings of the University of Alberta Archives (Corbett, 1992, 1996) as containing pertinent information. At any rate, by December 20, 1919, Dr. Allan had received both an "original and supplementary list" (Allan, 1920, May 3) from Mrs. Edwards detailing the contents of the collection. Based on this and Mackenzie's letter mentioned above, a relatively firm conclusion can be made that the University had indeed secured the collection by December, 1919. In another letter, Allan stated that he intended to display the University's collection for "the Industrial Congress the first of June" (UAA - Allan, 1920, May 10).

In a press release by Dr. Allan about the acquisition, it was stated that the Edwards Collection would "form the nucleus of a department of Indian culture in the museum at the University of Alberta" (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24; UAA - Valuable Indian Collection, 1920, April 2). It mentioned that the collection was due to the efforts of both Dr. and Mrs. Edwards, and stated that Mrs. Edwards "personally obtained from the Indians most of this collection...[and] represents the endeavours of over thirty years on the part of Mrs. Edwards and her husband" (ibid.) As Dr. Allan and Mrs. Edwards were in close contact in negotiations over the purchase of the collection, which took a fairly long period of time, he would have gotten to know Mrs. Edwards and more about what role she played in helping to form the collection. In a taped interview, the Edwards' granddaughter, Mrs. Claudia Whipple, also stated that Mrs. Edwards "did a great deal of the collecting", and that many of the objects were bought (UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5). Mrs. Whipple was referring to the material collected on the Blood Reserve, and possibly The press release noted that the value of the collection was also due to the existence of information about the "use, purpose, and legendary beliefs" (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24) known about the objects in the collection. The reasons for the University's decision to acquire the collection, was partly due to the belief that the "'Indians" were disappearing':

> each year it is becoming more and more difficult to obtain such articles that would indicate the craft and pomp of these past monarchs of the prairies. That much of this material, which is usually referred to as 'Indian curios', should be collected and preserved on native soil for the educational benefit of future generations, is a matter of vital national importance, and needs no argument (Allan, 1920, March 24, p. 1).

The collection consists of many different objects. According to Allan's press release,

> Among the many articles in this collection are wearing apparel, including ornamental and decorated fabrics, implements of the chase, gaming devices, instruments of torture, scalp lock, ornamented head dresses, pipes, bugles, and other objects of Indian manufacture (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24).

Not all the objects in the collection were listed in Allan's press release. In the collection, some of the objects are ceremonial, for defence, for hunting, and others were for "everyday use" (e.g., for cooking or scraping hides). The items that got the most attention, both initially and later by caretakers and researchers and through exhibits, were the more "aesthetic" (highly decorated) items, mainly the garments, headdresses, jewellery, and "interesting" items, such as weapons and games (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24).

From the beginning of negotiations for the collection, a catalogue was deemed important for "containing such a description or history of each article as would render the collection of increasing interest as years go by" (UAA - Mackenzie, 1919, December 5). Mrs. Edwards noted in a letter to Allan in 1919 that she agreed to prepare a catalogue with notes, but apparently thought later that it would be better to create a catalogue while she tagged the items in the collection, and send the notes later (UAA - Edwards, 1919, December 20). According to Allan's press release announcing the purchase of the collection (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24), he stated that Mrs. Edwards "has been able to obtain details regarding the use, purpose, and legendary beliefs connected with many of the articles" (ibid.). Unfortunately, no documents were found of either a detailed catalogue by Mrs. Edwards, or to records discussing the existence of it (if it was lost) in the University Archives.

The loss of such a catalogue is most unfortunate. In a description of the more comprehensive records of a collection of Peigan material culture acquired from Robert McDonald by the Glenbow Museum in 1978, Harrison (1981) noted that the meticulous records McDonald also provided greatly increased the value of the collection. Of the lack of documentation that could be provided by the original collectors, Harrison noted that:

> The maintenance of proper records concerning the material that they put their time and energy towards accumulating defines their interest as more than a passive curiosity. It is tragic to lose the documentation that accompanies a piece. It is like coming to the end of a gripping mystery to find the last page missing --

the last page which answered all the questions and gave a sense of reality to the situation (Harrison, 1981, p. 30).

Collinson, beginning in the 1970s, started researching the collectors and the objects in the collection, in the interest of eventually compiling enough information to write a comprehensive catalogue of the Edwards Collection. She wrote about the Edwards Collection (and the Edwards) in the exhibit catalogue A University Collects (1979) which discussed various collections at the University of Alberta, but a catalogue specific to the Edwards Collection itself has not yet been written. Some of the ethnographic collections maintained by the Department of Anthropology were described in An Ethnographic Overview of Native Art and Artifacts (University of Alberta, n.d.), including the Edwards Collection. In this publication, 87 of the artifacts in the Edwards Collection were described (mostly the 'aesthetic' and 'interesting' items described by Allan above, such as articles of clothing, moccasins, carrying bags, parfleches, pipes, games, a scraper and fleshers), but no accession numbers or photographs accompanied each artifact's entry, and the Department in charge of the collection was omitted.

When most of the collection first arrived at the University of Alberta, according to the inventory list furnished by Mrs. Edwards, there were 167 items. Apparently, there were two lists furnished by Mrs. Edwards, one original and a second supplementary one of items she sent later. Only one of her lists could be found in the University of Alberta Archives, which can be seen in Appendix 1. The list was not dated, unfortunately. Mrs. Edwards wrote to Allan in April, 1920 mentioning the items that she not had not yet delivered (UAA - Edwards, 1920, April 24). Early in 1920, Allan was well aware of the articles that Mrs. Edwards still had in her possession in Macleod, which he was expecting her to forward to the University of Alberta soon (UAA - Allan, 1920, May 10). A box arrived from Mrs. Edwards on May 29, with what Allan assumed were all the supplementary articles (Allan, 1920, May 29). In the short note he wrote to her he noted that the box had arrived safely, but had not had time to open it to see what she sent (ibid.).

A second inventory list of objects produced just before the collection moved to the Rutherford Library from the Arts Building in 1951 (see Appendix 2) shows a total of about 247 objects (UAA - The Edwards' Indian and Eskimo Collection, 1951). What constituted a single item could be argued about here, as a pair of moccasins could have been originally counted as one or two items depending on one's point of view. According to

Collinson (UDR - n.d., File No. 2610-4-4), thirty-six items of the original collection (according to Mrs. Edwards' list) never did make it to the university, according to the collections first official curator, Professor Henry George Glyde (Corbett, 1992; UAA - Newton, 1950, June 29). The Edwards' children and grandchildren were also collectors of native artifacts, and before they were shipped to the university, Mrs. Edwards, or her children may have requested that some of the objects be kept from the sale as family heirlooms.

Attitudes Toward Storing and Using Native Material Culture

Ethnographic objects often ended up in museums due to the belief in a "salvage paradigm" (Crosby, 1991, p. 274) that stimulated large-scale collecting in western North America in the late nineteenth century, and later in the northern part of the continent in the early years of the twentieth century. The removal of objects from their original context rarely sparked much thinking about the "alienation" (Durrans, 1988, p. 162) of objects from that original context, and how this could affect how objects are interpreted after acquisition. Parts of an object's original context that are often left unexplored, or unknown are original uses and meanings for objects, and basic provenance for individual objects (such as the name of the person who made it and their own role in their society). This missing information can make it difficult to attempt to resolve many of the more complex questions that artifacts can be used to answer.

Information about many of the objects' meanings and uses in the Edwards Collection was promised by Mrs. Edwards, but none of the documents, if she sent them to Dr. Allan, survived. This lack of information may have adversely affected the way the collection was interpreted, used, and exhibited from the time it was acquired. As seen in Figure 5, when still in Allan's Geology and Palaeontology Museum, the collection was displayed for effect with little respect for each object's original cultural context, as a room, or cabinet of curiosities.

Mislaid and Potential Items of The Edwards Collection

The Glenbow Museum in Calgary acquired some of the Edwards' collection from one of the Edwards' grandsons, E.S. Gardiner in 1985 (Dempsey, 1986). In the article that Dr. Allan wrote for release to the press about the acquisition of the Edwards Collection, he briefly described the contents of the collection, including "42 coloured

drawings by an Assiniboine Indian artist illustrating hunting the buffalo, domestic life, courtship, fighting, and feasting" (UAA - Allan, 1920, March 24). Subsequent lists, either in Mrs. Edwards hand or in typewritten form created at the University of Alberta, do not mention these drawings (UAA - The Edwards' Indian and Eskimo Collection, 1951). However, in one letter to Dr. Allan in 1920, Mrs. Edwards mentioned that she "was delighted to find the interior drawings and also a letter by Dr. Edwards describing the Dog Dance which he saw in 1897 which agrees in detail with the one of the drawings" (UAA - Edwards, 1920, April 24). Was she pleased to find the drawings because they were not in the original shipment of items she sent to the University, and she was searching for them to include in the supplementary shipment that she sent later?

These drawings on ledger paper were made by Hongeeyesa of the Jacks (Carry the Kettle) Reserve in the Qu'Appelle area of Saskatchewan, near Sintaluta. Dr. Edwards came to the area in 1882, and commissioned the drawings from the artist in 1897 (Dempsey, 1991; Glenbow Archives, 1997, August 5; Robertson, 1993). Native material culture at the turn of the century was often produced for collectors who commissioned a variety of objects (Hassrick, 1985). The Glenbow Museum acquired the drawings from Edwards' grandson, O.E.S. Gardiner, in 1985 (Dempsey, 1991).

Unfortunately, in a visit to Mr. Gardiner's home in 1973, Helen Collinson saw the drawings, but apparently did not connect them to the missing items of the University's collection (UDR - Collinson, 1973, December 31). Collinson described the works as

> two series of drawings by an unknown Indian artist which were done on the back of memoranda paper in the 1880's. It was stationery from Indianhead [sic], Saskatchewan. With the books of drawings was a letter written by Dr. Edwards describing an Indian ceremony and dance and feast (ibid., p. 2).

Collinson said in her transcription of her interview with Gardiner that she had "agreed to speak with the University Archivist about storing these drawings" (ibid., p. 2-3). It seemed from the document that any archival advice on storage pertained to Gardiner's continued storage of his pieces (ibid.). In 1963, Claudia Whipple sent Rutherford Librarian Bruce Peel a copy of a description of dances that Dr. Edwards wrote to his wife about, which might be a copy of the letter mentioned above (UAA - Whipple, 1963, December 28).

According to Robertson (1993), the drawings were created by an "'unknown Assiniboine artist'"(p. 10). Robertson, intrigued by the drawings and curious about who created them, investigated and discovered the artist's identity (ibid.) He is also known as

"Artist", "No-mnagan" and "O-ge-esa" (or, "he who tells"). His role as a "camp crier" (ibid.) and artist was noted by all three names. Robertson (1993), noted that there are forty four drawings, two more than what Allan reported in his press release. According to Dempsey (1991), "ledger art" (p. 40) such as this is common in the United States, but is rare in Canada. When the Glenbow Museum acquired the drawings in 1985, only one other series of Canadian ledger drawings was known to exist (Dempsey, 1991). This ledger art was commonly done on either lined accountants paper, or Indian Agent ledger paper, and Hongeeyesa drew on both kinds of paper (Robertson, 1993). They are now in the art collection of the Glenbow Museum.

Potential Edwards items? In 1973, a commercial dealer from Montana approached the Provincial Museum of Alberta with three objects from a Dr. C. Edwards Collection. However, according to Collinson after her inspection of the items (a woolen robe, saddle blanket, and child's dress), none of the items "corresponded with the missing list" (UDR - Collinson, 1973, October 25). I could not determine what was meant by this missing list in the University Archives. Unfortunately, Ms. Collinson also could not recall what she meant and could not find any notes that pertained in own files (H. Collinson, personal communication, October 17, 1995). According to Dr. Edwards' grand-daughter Claudia Whipple, in both personal and professional correspondence, "he always used the 'O.C.'" in the abbreviation of his given names, never "C." (UDR - Whipple, 1973, December 5).

The objects belonged to a Calgary man, Mr. Stan Sazula, whom Collinson contacted about the aforementioned objects, wondering if Dr. C. Edwards could be Dr. O.C. Edwards. She noted that "it seems quite a coincidence that items which appear to be dated about the same time and which were collected in an adjacent vicinity will be collected by different people of the same name" (UDR - Collinson, 1973, November 23). No other documents in the Provincial or University Archives, or in Ms. Collinson's own files concerning Mr. Sazula's collection was discovered, so it is unknown what Sazula's response to this inquiry was, if one was given. The holdings of the Glenbow Archives were also checked, as Mr. Sazula lived in Calgary, and may have offered the items to the Glenbow; no documents are apparently on file there.

The Scully Collection

Another grand-daughter of the Edwards, Mrs. Scully, donated fifteen items to the University in 1986 that are considered part of the original Edwards Collection; their accession numbers all begin as 986.42. These fifteen items were part of the Edwards collection, that was retained by the family and was perhaps not with the rest of the collection when Mrs. Edwards sold it. There was no information to be found in the archives, or at the Department of Museums and Collections Services, on why these items were not stored with the 'original' Edwards Collection. It is not readily apparent that the two collections are related at all.

Collections Management: Storage

The Edwards Collection, since coming to the University of Alberta in 1919, has spent time in a variety of locations after its initial home in the Geology Museum, under the care of several departments and people. With its changes in location, there were some changes in its use by those who came into contact with it. The emphasis on the occupation of the collection has been on safe storage, and not really on its exhibition or use. Research on the collection has been done over the years, but not extensively (H. Collinson, personal communication, September 19, 1995).

Rutherford Library, 1951- According to Collinson (UDR - 1972, January-May), after the space the Edwards Collection occupied in the Arts Building (c. 1920-1951) was taken over by what is now the Faculty of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences in 1951, it moved to Rutherford Library, which briefly provided space for the University Museum and Art Gallery, as it was called. The collection came to Rutherford Library when the building opened in 1951 (Peel, 1965). In terms of the care and administration of the collection, Mr. Bruce Peel as Librarian "exercised on-the-spot-supervision, but...had no official control" (UAA - Peel, 1965, March 14). Peel was privy to the contents of the Edwards Collection, and took an interest in its well-being, although without "official control" which was in another's hands, he was unable to take an active role in its care (Peel, 1968, May 29). Since 1950, Professor H.G. Glyde had curatorial control of the collection (UAA - Newton, 1950, June 29).

In a note written by Rutherford Librarian Bruce Peel chronicling the tour he gave in 1963 to Mrs. Claudia Whipple and her husband of the Edwards Collection (then in storage in the Rutherford Library), he recorded her recollections regarding the history of

her grandparents, how some of the objects were acquired, and the circumstances surrounding the University's acquisition of the collection (UAA - Peel, 1963, October 3). No records could be found in the University Archives that stated where the Edwards Collection was stored when it was resident in the Rutherford Library, in files relating to the University Libraries, the University Museum and Art Gallery, or the Department of Fine Arts. For Mr. Peel to be giving the tour to the Whipples himself, it is assumed that the collection was stored in a room in the library.

Mrs. Whipple found the storage of the collection to be substandard on her tour of the collection with Mr. Peel. In letter several months afterwards, she states:

> I am very concerned about the state of the Indian collection. I feel that it is much too valuable to be just piled higgly-piggly in that room. The tags are getting lost and some of the things are getting broken. Far too little attention is paid to the things of the past and the handwork there can never be replaced (UAA - Whipple, 1963, December 28).

In a letter to Mrs. Whipple several months later, Peel agreed with her about the state of the collection, "which is not on display, [and] is not as well cared for as it should be. I shall point out your concern to the persons who have responsibility for the collection" (UAA - Peel, 1964, January 14).

When managed by members of Rutherford Library onsite, the Collection got more regular attention, according to Peel, (UAA - Peel, 1965, March 14). Some artifacts were displayed in the library's rotunda, not as contextual exhibits portraying scenes in life that the objects were originally used in, but as "ethnographic fragments" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1991, p. 388), and vivid parts of Canadian history (UAA - Millar, 1957, November). For the Department of Art and Design, where art and not ethnography was paramount, the Edwards Collection was apparently not given the same regular attention it received while a part of the Rutherford Library.

Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1966 - present. Mrs. Whipple was still displeased, despite Peel's agreement about and concern for the collection's circumstance. In 1964, she contacted the Member of the Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.) of Fort Macleod (her grandmother's final home before her death) to mentioned the state of the collection at the University. The M.L.A., Mr. Jim Hartley, contacted E.S. Bryant, Director of the Alberta Travel Bureau about Mrs. Whipple's complaints, who notified R.O. Harrison, a museum consultant connected with the Legislative Building. Hartley and Mrs. Edwards had known each other personally (PMA - Whipple, 1965, July 15). In Bryant's

memorandum to Harrison, he mentioned Mrs. Whipple's concerns: "She was disappointed to note that it was not being taken care [sic] and that it was widely scattered and the entire visit left her very unhappy" (PMA - Bryant, 1964, July 24). The M.L.A. contacted Mr. Bryant to find out (for Mrs. Whipple presumably) if the collection "could be acquired by the Government and sent to Fort Macleod, where for some period of her life Mrs. Edwards lived" (PMA - Bryant, 1964, July 24).

Harrison was interested in the collection, but noted in his answer to Bryant that due to recent developments at the University of Alberta, it was unlikely that the provincial government would be able to take it (PMA - Harrison, 1964, August 12). Harrison noted that in 1964 meetings were taking place between University of Alberta President Dr. Walter Johns and the new Department of Anthropology. The subject of these meetings was

> the consolidating of their various ethnological collections on the campus and possible incorporation in the new Arts Building now being planned. Perhaps this may offer Mr. Hartley, M.L.A., and Mrs. Whipple some assurance on the future adequate use of the collection (PMA - Harrison, 1964, August 12).

Dr. Walter H. Johns wrote to Mrs. Whipple later that her concerns about the collection had been forwarded again to Bruce Peel, Mr. R.O. Harrison, and others and that they would take measures to "arrange better accommodation for the collection so that it will be properly labelled and cared for and can be seen by as many interested persons as possible" (UAA - Johns, 1965, July 19). Dr. Johns did not mention the new Department of Anthropology at all in this letter. Harrison had recently that year been appointed Museum Director of the new Provincial Museum of Alberta. Mrs. Whipple expressed interest in the new provincial museum, and suggested in a letter to the provincial government's Museum Consultant Mr. MacCorquodale, that she had been in contact with the University's president about the Edwards Collection. Whipple said that Dr. Johns thought "that he feels that it belongs in the museum and that the students could study it better there, than in its surrounding" (PMA - Whipple, 1965, July 15).

A large number of items from the Edwards Collection were loaned to the Provincial Museum in 1966, in time for its opening on Canada's centennial birthday in 1967. Some of the artifacts of the Edwards Collection are still housed at the Provincial Museum of Alberta, where they are there on a long-term loan. Some of them are there because of their size, for example a large tipi cover that cannot be satisfactorily stored at the University. According to Eric Waterton, former Curator of Ethnology of the Provincial

Museum at that time, the Edwards Collection was there as a loan, but the museum went to a lot of trouble for a temporary loan to catalogue them, and change their accession numbers to ones used by the Provincial Museum for accessioned artifacts in their registration catalogue (E. Waterton, personal communication, September 25, 1998).

The Geology Museum in the Department of Geology was also loaning many artifacts to the Provincial Museum of Alberta in 1966. In an acquisition report created by R. Davidson for the Provincial Museum on receipt of the items, in an area describing details of the transaction, it was stated that "miscellaneous historical items, items found at Trading Post sites and miscellaneous ethnological items from the East Indies, West Indies, Australia, etc." (PMA - Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1966, February 24) were "of no further use to the Geology Museum" (ibid.) according to Donald Taylor, the Curator of the Geology Museum at the University. These items were on loan permanently to the Provincial Museum (ibid.)

The Department of Geology is also designated as the source of most of the items of the Edwards Collection that were loaned to the University of Alberta (PMA - Hellson, 1967, February 22). They came from the Department of Geology, via Don Taylor who came on as Curator of Earth Sciences in 1966, the year the collection came to the museum (E. Waterton, personal communication, September 25, 1998; R. Mussieux, personal communication, September 28-29, 1998). According to Ron Mussieux, now Curator of Geology at the Provincial Museum (he took over Taylor's position after his retirement), Taylor was both a student of Geology at the University, and later an instructor there.

According to Dr. Charles Stelck, Professor Emeritus of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences at the University of Alberta, Taylor was familiar with the Edwards Collection from the 1930s as a student (C. Stelck, personal communication, September 25, 1998). When storage was later at a premium at the University, Taylor recommended that the Provincial Museum take on the items of the Edwards Collection that needed safe, temporary storage (Mussieux, personal communication, September 28-29, 1998).

The accession numbers from the university on most of the artifacts all bore four number accession numbers placed by the Department of Geology. Two artifacts, a drum and a quilled, birch bark basket, in Hellson's 1967 list of artifacts that went to the Provincial Museum did not have accession numbers assigned by the Geology Department (PMA - Hellson, 1967, February 22). Most of the artifacts on Hellson's list

were made of stone (two hafted mauls and seventeen catlinite pipe bowls and stems), but the other eleven consisted of four necklaces, three beaded awl cases, a beaded amulet with umbilical cord, and a war club and the drum and basket mentioned above (ibid.)

From Waterton's list that he forwarded to the University of twenty nine artifacts that were returned in 1974, twenty four related to Hellson's list. They had all been given the same accession number prefix, H67.72, with individual numbers finishing the accession number pertaining to the actual artifact (e.g., H67.72.14A&B, a pipe bowl and stem). Four were given another accession number prefix, H66.61. These pertained to the large collection of 187 "miscellaneous" objects loaned by the Department of Geology and mentioned above. These objects, and other collections loaned by the Departments of Geology, Art, Dentistry, Agricultural Engineering, Agriculture, and Engineering as of 1969 were recorded by the Department of Art (PMA - 1969, November 21).

In all cases, the "H" stands for the Provincial Museum's Human History Division, the next two numbers (67) for the date of accession, and the next (72) to denote an individual collection for that accession year. In the Department of Art's list of objects and collections loaned or transferred to the Provincial Museum (1969, November 21), fifteen items of the Edwards Collection were loaned, with "no special conditions or arrangements" (p. 2). According to Artifact Catalogue records at the Provincial Museum, there are five artifacts from the Edwards Collection still in storage H67.72.1, a drum, H67.72.2, a handkerchief container, H67.72.7, a necklace, H67.72.8, a necklace, and H67.72.11, an awl case (PMA - Provincial Museum of Alberta, n.d., Master File H67.72).

Department of Fine Arts\Art and Design, 1950-1966. Professor H.G. Glyde, head of the Department of Art and Design, had curatorial control of the collection from 1950 to 1966 (Corbett, 1992; UAA - Newton, 1950, June 29). In a letter from the Head of the Department of Art, Ronald Davey, to the Vice-President of Campus Development Dr. Worth in 1968, the poor state of the records and files relating to various collections was criticized. Dr. Davey followed Professor Glyde as Curator of the University Gallery and Museum, and in looking up information of the many facets of the collection after his appointment, found that the true extent and state of the collections was relatively unknown. As well, after inquiries, Dr. Davey found that "senior colleagues on campus are only vaguely aware that a collection exists and all indications are that it is dispersed

about the campus with very few people aware of the value - either historical, cultural or financial" (UAA - Davey, 1968, May 10).

Bruce Peel in a letter to Ronald Davey stated that as a result of the Edwards Collection (and others) once being a part of Rutherford library, he "knew more about the acquisition and contents of many of the collections than anyone else on the campus, and, also, that the files in the Library Office are more complete than those in the Department of Art, which emphasizes the point that the Art Department has been most careless in its custodian role" (Peel, 1968, May 29). Peel was not referring to one collection specifically in his letter to Davey, but after checking in the University Archives, I found some records pertaining to several collections in the Rutherford Library. Dating from 1945 to 1976, the records included a few about the Edwards Collection (Corbett, 1992). Unfortunately, the documents pertaining to the Edwards Collection were very brief, and only dealt with mention of the use of some of the artifacts in exhibits in Rutherford Library, and not to its storage or care.

Medical Building, 1951-1966. In a report by Collinson, she stated that from 1951 to 1964, the University Art Gallery and Museum was without facilities (UDR - 1972, January - May). During this period, the Edwards Collection was apparently placed in storage in the Medical Building (UDR - Collinson, n.d.). I could not find any record of what room in this building the collection was stored. In 1964, the University Art Gallery moved to a building located at 112 Street and 90th Avenue, but there was no room for "any museum items" and the Edwards Collection remained in storage in the Medical Building (built in 1912) until 1967 (UDR - Collinson, 1972, January - May, p. 2).

At this time, there seems to be a difference between "museum items" and art items for the University Art Gallery and Museum. When in this storage area unfortunately, in 1966, a steam pipe burst and caused water damage to many items in the Edwards Collection (UDR - Collinson, n.d.). I looked for any references to a flood in 1966 in the University Archives, and found only one. It related to a flood in Rutherford Library in 1966, but there was no description of the nature or extent of the flood. Only books were mentioned as damaged (UAA - University Libraries fonds, c. 1966).

Department of Anthropology, 1966-present. The Department of Anthropology was created in 1966, the same year the Edwards Collection was loaned/transferred from the Department of Art and Design. The Collection moved in 1967 to the H.M. Tory Building and the Department of Anthropology (UDR - Collinson, n.d.). The Department of

Art and Design still retained authority over the collection, with Professor Glyde as Curator until 1966 (followed by Ronald Davey in 1968), but the Department of Anthropology shared the responsibility for the storage and care of the Edwards Collection. At that time, the staff in the Department of Anthropology numbered only seven people, who had diverse research interests and projects (Jobagy, 1998, March 2).

The collection was transferred originally as a loan to the Department of Anthropology in 1967, according to Ronald Davey, Head of the Department of Art and Design between 1967 and 1976, and Curator of the University Art Gallery and Museum (UAA - Davey, 1967, October; UDR - Curator, University Collections, 1972, November 17). The person in charge of the collections, including the Edwards Collection when it was loaned/transferred from the Department of Art and Design to the Department of Anthropology was Dr. Alan L. Bryan. This transfer was decided by members of the Art Department in 1967, as "traditionally, of course, ethnographic and archaeological collections are the responsibility of anthropologists" (UAA - Bryan, 1968, May 31). In 1966, thirty-nine items were loaned to the newly built Provincial Museum of Alberta, which had controlled storage facilities that some of the artifacts required (UDR - Collinson, n.d.).

In a letter to Mrs. Whipple in 1971, Collinson noted that most of the Collection was located in the Department of Anthropology. It had been organized and was "all in drawers, carefully laid out to minimize strain on old material. This room is air conditioned and the drawer space is adequate and well labelled. The Provincial Museum is storing thirty eight items of the Collection until space becomes available here" (UDR - Collinson, 1971, October 26). She noted that optimum storage conditions were still unattainable given the location inside an existing building with a centralized climate control system (ibid.). As of 1974, 29 items were returned to the University of Alberta, and were "deleted from the Provincial Museum of Alberta's registration catalogue" (PMA - Waterton, 1974, May 17). According to Anne Lambert, professor of the Department of Human Ecology, and Curator of the Clothing and Textiles Collection at the University of Alberta, there were ongoing projects in that time period to improve the storage involving Collinson, students from the Clothing and Textiles Department and consulting conservators and curators (A. Lambert, personal communication, September 30, 1998).

A classroom in the Tory Building, 1-42, was set aside for storage of ethnographic collections, and retro-fitted as a storage facility "with specifications for temperature and

humidity control for proper storage of the ethnographic collections" (UAA - Bryan, 1968, May 31), with areas within the room to take the artifacts out to study them (Figure 7). Bryan was concerned about the condition of the ethnographic collections now transferred to his care, and noted that in the past,

> these collections have had an unfortunate history at this University as they were never properly catalogued or housed. For this reason, many items have been lost or misplaced and much of the remaining has been irreparably damaged by moisture, insects, etc. (UAA - Bryan, 1968, May 31).

Bryan arranged for the employment of a Laboratory Technician to "catalogue, fumigate, and conserve the collections" (UAA - Bryan, 1968, May 31). Conservation, both preventive and active treatments were to be referred to the Provincial Museum, which had both the facilities and trained professionals to handle the collection, including activities related to its exhibition (UDR - Gessler & Peterson, 1972, March 9).

Davey, the Curator of the University Art Gallery and Museum, had initiated a project to catalogue and review the University's collections (UAA - Davey, 1968, October 21; UAA - Tyndall, 1968, June 5) and noted that the lack of a central location for all collections, or at least for most of their records relating to inventories, catalogues, artifact location, and condition reports, had caused several problems. He noted that he considered it almost impossible to refer to the University Collection

> as a viable teaching and research tool in the present circumstances when we ourselves do not know what we possess nor where it is located, when no real effort has yet been made to catalogue the collection in a manner befitting a serious, responsible and well intentioned University Community (Davey, 1968, October 21, p. 2).

As the Edwards Collection was to be stored in the Tory Building, and its everyday management relegated to the Department of Anthropology, it was decided by this department and the Department of Art and Design to re-accession the artifacts, to "clearly reflect responsibility for items, proper identification and location of artifacts" (UDR - Collinson, 1971, November 10). The re-accessioning also corresponded to the new "catalogue system" devised by the Department of Anthropology (UAA - Bryan, 1968, May 31). The accession numbers for the Department of Anthropology began with the prefix 967.1. The accession number for the collection currently starts begins as 965.24, the same numbers that the collection was given by the Department of Art and Design (they were known then as ADX numbers) in 1965.

As of 1988, Dr. Bryan, still curator of the ethnographic collections, noted that all the ethnographic collections were in storage in the basement in the Tory Building. While most of the collections there were well catalogued and maintained, "'as it is now we don't encourage its everyday use'" (Pilger, 1988, p. 18). The storage room for the collections was small, for the amount of collections (and artifacts) it held, lacking appropriate space for removing many artifacts from storage cabinets and making long term research on objects difficult. A conservator from the Clothing and Textiles Department, working with the Edwards collection in 1994 to review the inventory of the collection and the ability of artifacts in the collection to be moved, noted that "overall storage conditions for the Edwards' collection are fair. Some artifacts are not suited to the storage space they are in, but this is a factor more of the availability of space and cost rather than negligence" (Prince, 1994, May 29, p. 2).

The Edwards Collection, as are the other ethnology collections stored there, was (and is) available to students and researchers by appointment. The ethnology collections were moved to a sub-basement room, TB-7[6], within the Tory Building in April 1996 to allow room TB 1-42 to be renovated for other purposes. I was employed by the Department of Museums and Collections Services at the time, which coordinated the renovation of the room and the physical activity of moving the collections with the Department of Anthropology. I was working on contract for MACS as a Registration Technician to help with the physical move of the collection, which included a preliminary inventory of each artifact, and also to ensure that the computer information on older files in Excel were transferred to the new database, Multi-MIMSY which was managed by MACS. The new room is much smaller, but unlike the previous room (see Figure 7), has no other function but to store artifacts, with a small area to examine artifacts. The ability to gain and grant access to the collections electronically will add an interesting element to the idea of "access" to the collections stored there now using the new technology afforded by Multi-MIMSY in terms of information retrieval.

The collections managed by the Department of Anthropology were not well known on campus. Today, they are still not well known to people outside the Department of

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[6]Tory TB-7 had previously been the William C. Wonders University Map Collection, belonging to the Geography Department (now in the Cameron Library at the university). It was refitted for the new collections it would hold with new lighting, security, and anonymity. The original room, TB 1-42 was also not made to stand out to students or others passing by.

Anthropology. In the Tory Building, on the basement and first floors, there are displays of items from the collections, and of current projects undertaken in the Department of Anthropology, although that is not mentioned on the University's extensive Web page. There are links to various facets of the department through the University of Alberta's home page on the World Wide Web, but few of them mention the collections, or the use of material culture on campus.

The Tory Building, in the basement and first floor, has displays of items from the collections, and of current projects undertaken in the Department of Anthropology, although that is not mentioned on the University's Web page. With regards to the collections and other resources of the department, the Ethnography Collection is listed, with a short note at the beginning stating that "students have the opportunity to use or participate in the following" resources, including a "Collection of ethnographic materials from North America, Latin America, the Arctic, Oceania and Africa" (University of Alberta, 1998, March 2). No specific contact person is noted for any of the resources, and no curator is listed for any of the collections, for anyone interested in investigating any of them. Now that the Edwards Collection is no longer managed by the Department, it does not need to mention that the collection exists, although as it still is stored in the same room as their own ethnographic collections. It could still be mentioned as a resource.

The School of Native Studies, 1997- As of 1997, the collection has been curated by Dr. Patricia McCormack, an Associate Professor in the School of Native Studies. She has used the Edwards Collection in her classes on material culture, and encourages its use (P. McCormack, personal communication, September 23, 1998). Before joining the School of Native Studies in 1994, Dr. McCormack was Curator of Ethnology at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. The School of Native Studies is currently in its tenth year of operation, but there have been Native Studies Programs at the University of Alberta for many years under different programs and faculties.

Native Studies Programs have been at the University of Alberta for many years under different programs and faculties. The Faculty of Extension, between 1950 and 1980, considered Native Studies as a "major program" (Corbett, 1992, p. 64) for the University and the public at large. The Office of the Dean of Men, in operation from 1960-1975, had an Advisor on Native Affairs from 1962-1964 (Corbett, 1992). The Office of the Associate Vice-President (Academic), included Native Studies under its programs, between the years of 1975 to 1987. This office appointed an Advisor on Native Affairs

for this period. The Faculty of Arts listed courses in the Cree and Blackfoot languages between 1970 and 1987 (Corbett, 1992). Student Services, established in 1976, has had an Advisor on Native Affairs since 1977 (Corbett, 1992). The Universities Coordinating Council (consisting of representatives from each university in Alberta) established a Committee of Native Studies from 1976-1980 (Corbett, 1992). This committee became a part of the General Faculties Council, explained below.

The School of Native Studies was first proposed as an academic unit at a University of Alberta Senate Committee meeting in 1972 by representatives of the Indian Association of Alberta (School of Native Studies, 1998, September 11). In 1978, after receiving twenty recommendations for improving service to Native people at the University and establishing a stronger involvement in Native Studies, the General Faculties Council established a Standing Committee on Native Studies (Corbett, 1992; School of Native Studies, 1998, September 11). This committee involved faculty members, students, and members of Native communities.

The Committee on Native Studies proposed the establishment of a School of Native Studies that would be multidisciplinary in character, instead of a small department that would confine itself to Native history, language and culture (School of Native Studies, 1998, September 11; 1998, September 21). Through many years of research, the Committee determined that language, culture, and land use would be of significance in the School of Native Studies. The School would concentrate upon the Indian, Inuit, and Metis of the Canadian West and North (School of Native Studies, 1998, September 11; 1998). The General Faculties Council and Board of Governors of the University ratified the establishment of the School of Native Studies and a Bachelor of Arts in Native Studies in 1984. That same year, the Universities Coordinating Council also approved the School, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Native Studies. In 1988, the General Faculties Council and Government of Alberta approved a program of study leading to the degree (ibid.)

Future uses of the collection. The School of Native Studies continues to evolve, and to attract more students. With the tenth anniversary of its establishment at the University of Alberta coming soon, more public awareness of the school and its program will grow. If interest in the collection grows with the students who enter the School, use of it will hopefully increase and generate interest outside the school, and perhaps off campus. The use of objects in research projects and in exhibits will both

help to publicize the collection. The Edwards Collection's newest curator, Dr. Patricia McCormack plans to bring students and the collection together using an interdisciplinary approach to blend the two. The use of the World Wide Web in this regard is becoming increasingly popular for both instructors and students, and becoming accepted in the consciousness of many members of the public as well.

Collections Management: Access to Information

The idea of access to the collection over the years is dealt with here, as it pertains to both what is exhibited and what is used in teaching, and who can use objects for research or other purposes such as seminars, or public television for example (A. Lambert, personal communication, September 30, 1998). In 1971 and 1972, an effort was made to consolidate all the information about the Edwards Collection. This was done by Helen Collinson, then Curatorial Research Assistant at the University Art Gallery and Museum, and Thelma Hapgood of the Department of Anthropology. This information included its storage location, exhibition, and the educational uses to which it was put by instructors (UDR - Collinson, 1971, October 26).

The collection was also completely photographed and catalogued for identification purposes (UDR - Collinson, 1971, December 22). The photos are small to fit on small catalogue cards, and were taken using black and white film, but are clear. They were done on campus, so the negatives or slides are available to create newer, enlarged ones if necessary. Most of the photographs could probably be digitally scanned for use in the Multi-MIMSY database, for example, or for inserting the collection onto a web site in the future. Access could be greatly increased, with no physical harm for any artifacts.

In 1977, the university established the University Collections Centre, which was to be the central museum and registry on campus and administrative hub for all collections on campus. The University, through this centre, "took custody of all art and museum materials made, received or collected by any department or officer of the University for the purposes of teaching, research, reference or exhibition" (University of Alberta Archives, 1997, August 5). These primary resources are now used in a wide variety of ways from undergraduate classes research projects for graduate students and faculty, to public displays (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b).

As an institution grows, so do its records, and those related to its administrative maintenance also exist, the names of past and present curators, research requests related to the collection, and the educational use of artifacts. This information is also stored in electronic form, in a computer database. As information about collections grows, the request for simple information is often cumbersome as it exists in paper documents. For ease of retrieval, it is necessary to have at least basic information, such as the accession number, type of artifact, and location in an accessible place.

In 1997, the collection was entered on the database called Multi-MIMSY[7], which will aid in "establishing an integrated electronic systems environment which can provide essential local and remote access to object-based collections information for adult teaching and learning purposes" (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b). The Edwards Collection is one of eight collections (including the Scully Collection) whose information has been integrated into the Multi-MIMSY database.

These collections are jointly held by the Department of Museums and Collections Services and the Department of Anthropology (UDR - Collinson, 1971, November 10; L. Hart, personal communication, project notes, December, 1995). As part of the university's "museum system" (Schiffer, 1977, p. 16), this new collections information technology can be a cornerstone of more widespread contact with the information, if not the actual artifacts, that the University of Alberta holds, making objects and collections more valuable as primary research resources.

These are not all the collections that are in Anthropology. The ethnographic collections now in Multi-MIMSY pertain to those that were in Anthropology's database (in Microsoft Excel) at the time of the data conversion (to Multi-MIMSY). There are currently no plans to add the rest of Anthropology's holdings not jointly managed between the two departments, to Multi-MIMSY (L. Hart, personal communication, project notes, December, 1995). The multiple goals of the use of Multi-MIMSY on campus for a variety of collections in a number of departments include manifold, compatible online access to object-based collections data using a single brand of database for a variety of disciplines, and the general public (in time). Also, the ability to trace artifacts, specimens, and collections at the University and keep the information on storage, exhibition, and other

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[7]"MIMSY" stands for Museum Information Management System.

uses in one space using Multi-MIMSY is of prime importance (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b).

Typical access to collections is usually controlled, monitored, and very structured as to when they can be seen, and how they can be studied. At the University of Alberta, the importance of artifacts and collections as primary resources for students, and faculty across campus is recognized. Increasing access to collections is one of the goals of the Department of Museums and Collections Services (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b). Access to the location, nature, and other information about artifacts, specimens, works of art, and collections of same can now be accessed through the World Wide Web.

In museums (whether in universities or as individual institutions) according to Ames (1992, p. 89-90), access " is..., in the typical case, highly structured, predetermined, and controlled by museum professionals so as to be 'correct,' 'safe,' 'understandable,' and 'educational'". Making museums more accessible has been limited to improving to storage and in revamping old exhibits or creating more elaborate, multimedia exhibitions to attract visitors which are rapidly becoming more critical of exhibitions, and who museums are coming to depend upon for funding (Ames, 1992; Cameron, 1992; Wilson, 1991). The development of programs and directives to increase compounds the arguably impossible primary task of museums--"to preserve material evidence in perpetuity" (Wilson, 1991, p. 92).

Some of the Web sites are maintained by departments on campus, and others are run by other Albertan institutions. Their primary function is to make information about the departments and their roles more easily available to the campus community and the general public.

The sites reviewed below are all linked to the University of Alberta's main home page (http://www.ualberta.ca). One is a directory of Alberta's museums and galleries, which lists the various museum collections on campus. For the Department of Anthropology, most of its collections are listed, such as the archaeology and osteology collections, but not the ethnographic collections which include the Edwards Collection (Museums Alberta, 1997, November 21). Another University of Alberta page, a tour of "concert halls, museums, and galleries" (1998, August 6) lists no university museums (there are four) except for the provincially managed Rutherford House. Museums and Collections Services' site, Museums on Campus (1997, August 14a), lists both museums

and collections at the University of Alberta: 32 collections in all, and 3 or 4 named museums, with links to other web sites for eight of the collections and two museums (ibid.).

The future of less limited access to the information of campus collections will serve to make the collections housed by the University of Alberta more valuable for research and teaching. One of Museums and Collections Services current initiatives is to grant online public access to the university's collections through both the World Wide Web and locally for students and faculty through the University Library's GATE interface, which is also available worldwide via the Web (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b).

The future of museums, and of collections within universities, is becoming seen as more of a resource for the entire community rather than for people within the "museum profession." The idea of the museum and one's role in it is constantly changing, particularly where Native material culture relates. Ethnographic collections, while not "hidden away," are not publicized as a source of information for people outside the University of Alberta generally, and particularly not from outside the Department of Anthropology. The Edwards Collection and its associated documentation is a under-used resource on campus, for historical societies, Native Friendship Centres, artists, secondary schoolchildren, and the so-called "general public." If more of these different institutions are exposed to the existence and value of university ethnographic collections, the potential exists for them to renew or forge links between themselves in order to collect, interpret, and distribute local and provincial histories as a community.

Collections Management: Exhibition

An exhibition, no matter how extensive its use of artifacts, can only produce an "excerpt" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1991, p. 388) of a subject or a facet that a museum is attempting to portray. Below is a selection of exhibits which featured the Edwards Collection. Not all exhibitions that included artifacts of the Edwards Collection have been included, as not all exhibits furnished documentary evidence that has stood the test of time, or was presented to an archive. Some exhibits or small displays of selected objects of the Edwards Collection may have been omitted.

Most of the exhibits that made it into publications were those which were constructed for public consumption, and not just for members of the University

community. Some exhibits or small displays of selected objects of the Edwards Collection may have been omitted by departments. Most of the exhibits that made it into publications were those which were constructed for public consumption, and not just for members of the University community. Unfortunately, very few documents were found in the archives about the exhibitions, and so little is known about what artifacts were used, and about the responses to the displays. Below is a chronological descriptive list of a variety of ten exhibits that featured artifacts of the Edwards Collection.

1920, summer. In another letter, Allan stated that he intended to display the University's collection for "the Industrial Congress the first of June" (UAA - Allan, 1920, May 10). No documents were found in the University Archives that pertained to the exhibition, or to the Industrial Congress.

1957, November. There was a display in the rotunda for the 1957 - 1958 school term in the Rutherford Library of "Indian artifacts and implements of Alberta and Saskatchewan" which could only be the Edwards Collection, although the name of the collection was not mentioned (UAA - Millar, 1957, November).

1969, May. The exhibit, "A University Collects" was held at the University Art Gallery in May, 1969. It moved to the Provincial Museum of Alberta for a time in 1970 (UAA - Davey, 1969, September 2; Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1970, February 17). A main aim of the exhibit was to increase awareness of a variety of the University of Alberta's collections, including geological specimens, paintings, and ethnographic collections. Selected pieces of the Edwards Collection were displayed. The Provincial Museum of Alberta then hosted the exhibition in its Feature Gallery Number 1 from February 15 to May 11 (UAA - Davey, 1969, September 2; Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1970, February 17). A catalogue also was published by the same name, written by Helen Collinson (UDR - Collinson, 1971, October 26; Collinson, 1979).

1971, October. Ten to twelve items were displayed in the Student's Union Building (S.U.B) Art Gallery (UDR - Collinson, 1971, October 26). The exhibition ran October 12 - October 15, and was in conjunction with the Student's Union Forums Committee bringing in guest speakers Chief Dan George, Mohawk activist Kahn Tineta-Horn, and Jean Chretien (UDR - Collinson, 1971, September 15).

1971, November. Twenty items were displayed at the Edmonton Art Gallery in conjunction with the Gallery's feature exhibition on Paul Kane which ran from November

10, 1971, to January 30, 1972 (UDR - Collinson, 1971, October 26; UDR - Hapgood, 1971, October 26; Wilkin, 1973).

1972, June 29. This exhibit was part of a Canada Manpower Winter Works Project on the results of the study of human adaptation to cold environments. The project was developed by Dr. Allan Bryan of the Department of Anthropology, who initiated a proposal for the "Local Initiatives Program" of the Manpower and Immigration Offices to hire ten people to work on the archaeological and ethnographic collections now held within the University. Activities included cataloguing and listing of art and ethnographic materials stored in Anthropology. Six "semi-skilled unemployed native persons" and "four trained unemployed professionals (two archaeologists and two curators) rounded out the team (UDR - Lewis, 1971, December 14). No documents were found that corresponded to this exhibit in the archives, as to what was displayed. Helen Collinson, then a Curatorial Research Assistant, remembered that some articles of clothing were used, including a pair of Athabascan caribou woman's gloves, trimmed with embroidery (H. Collinson, personal communication, October 17, 1995).

1983, July 3 - 15. Universiade (World University Games) exhibit held from July 3-15, 1983 in Athabasca Hall that displayed a selection of artifacts from the Edwards Collection. The University of Alberta hosted the World University Games from July 1-11, 1983.

1985, June 21 - October 6. The exhibition, "Buffalo: "these Beast on ye Barren Ground"" took place in the Ring House Gallery at the University of Alberta from June 21 - October 6. Its theme was bison, so many of the artifacts displayed in the exhibit from the Edwards Collection were artifacts made from buffalo, such as scoops, gambling bones, polished horns, and a hat, but also items relating to hunting or food preparation such as a bow and arrows, maul, saddle, fleshers, bowl, parfleche, and a blanket strip and a needle case (Heth & Collinson, 1985).

1988, September 22 - 1989, March 26. "Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788 - 1988" at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. Selected artifacts from the Edwards Collection were shown that Dr. Edwards collected on his trip as medical officer to Fort Chipewyan, the Treaty 8 region, in 1900. These artifacts included three pairs of moccasins, one babiche bag, a watch pocket, and a dog blanket (McCormack, 1988).

Collections Management: Educational Usage

In a letter to Mrs. Whipple in 1971, Helen Collinson stated that the Collection was being used by faculty "for teaching purposes, displaying items to illustrate their lectures. One graduate student in Anthropology has found the Athabascan items of particular interest in her research project on Northern Indians" (UDR - Collinson, 1971, October 26).

University Collections Surveys were periodically filled out by university departments with collections to document the contents, purpose, inventory aids (e.g., catalogues), physical size, location, condition, and any problems pertaining to the collection. By the time these reports were introduced, the Edwards Collection was housed in the H.M. Tory Building, Room 1-42, under the management of the Department of Anthropology. Two reports were filed in November, 1972, one by the Department of Anthropology, and the other by a Curatorial Assistant for University Collections (a division of the University Art Gallery and Museum). In the former, under the "Purpose" section, out of the choices 'Teaching', 'Research', and 'Other', Teaching was indicated, as well as Display (under 'Other'). Curiously, 'Research' as a purpose of the collection was not indicated (UDR - Department of Anthropology, 1972, November 17). In 1972, the problems indicated for the collection were space, environmental controls, conservation facilities, and display facilities (a problem for all ethnographic collections stored in this location). As indicated above, most of these problems were probably due to the fact that the building was never built with a museum component in mind (ibid.).

The second report, filled out for the University Collections, noted that the purposes of the Edwards Collection was for both Teaching and Research, and Display. This report also noted that some of the Collection was still stored at the Provincial Museum (UDR - Curator, University Collections, 1972, November 17).

The entire collection was used as a conservation project for an intern, Tom Hunter, in the Libraries, Archives and Museums Studies Program for Native students at the University of Alberta. The University of Alberta's Department of Museums and Collections Services, in concert with the Metis Nation of Alberta, the federal government, and various provincial cultural institutions and organizations, has developed a training program called Libraries, Archives, and Museums Studies (LAMS) for Native people in a "year-long libraries, archives and museums technicians training program" ("University, Metis Nation," 1993, October 8; Hayward, 1994, September 30). The main goal of the

Program is for the students who complete it to "have a major impact on the whole area of cultural enhancement and preservation" ("University, Metis Nation", 1993, October 8).

Under the direction of the Department of Museums and Collections Services and the Department of Human Ecology's Textile Conservator, the intern completed conservation reports on most of the collection and prepared or upgraded support mounts for objects, as well as completed a report on the current and prescribed storage conditions and assessing the needs of the collection if it was moved (UDR - Prince, 1994, May 20).

O.C. Edwards Collection: Its History and Context Within the University of Alberta

The purpose of this section is to locate the Edwards Collection within a larger framework of published sources supplemented by the previous interpretive description of the archival data and oral history regarding the collection. This will help to inform its identity in the larger context within which the university and its museums generally are situated. There is a "conceptual patina" (Ames, 1992, p. 46; van Mensch, 1990) that forms on objects over time, as well as on the published studies of them. The study of this coating as it applies to this collection's history will help to portray its present situation within the university. There has not been much in the way of published sources on the Edwards Collection, except for the articles and books written by Collinson (1977, 1979, 1985a, 1985b) and the University of Alberta (n.d.).

With regards to the subject of Blackfoot or Blood material culture, publications exist that discuss specific museum collections, but are not as numerous as might be expected from the amount of artifacts and collections in museums all over the world that contain artifacts from this culture. Many more publications deal with Blackfoot material culture in general, or certain artifact types in particular, such as costume, tools, or jewellery. Some of these publications are by Ewers (1945, 1958, 1963), Scriver (1990), Spier, (1925); VanStone (1992), Walton, Ewers, and Hassrick (1985), and Wissler (1909, 1910, 1914, 1915).

Publications which deal with other collections of Native North American material culture include VanStone (1983), who described the ethnographic collection process of Plains Cree material culture from Saskatchewan (the Simms Collection) as outlined by the Department of Anthropology's curator for fieldwork for the Field Columbian Museum (now known as the Field Museum of Natural History) in Chicago. Hail and Duncan

(1989) examined the Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, and specifically the collection of a woman who collected Native material culture of the Canadian and American Subarctic and Arctic in the nineteenth century. Emma Mary Colcleugh collected sixty eight objects from these regions between 1888 and 1897, and unlike many collectors noted where she acquired them (Hail and Duncan, 1989). Colcleugh travelled in 1894 much of the same area as Dr. O.C. Edwards would in 1900.

Parezo (1987b) outlined how the Smithsonian Institution formed some of its ethnographic collections in the American Southwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Parezo, in her historical overview of collecting by the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of American Ethnology in the American Southwest in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, noted that European made trade goods such as iron pots, sleigh bells, and cloth were traded for "traditionally" made objects from the various Native peoples who lived there (Parezo, 1987b). Ironically, this systematic collection by anthropologists helped to change the very cultures they sought in their "traditional" state. Anything which seemed modern was not collected, photographed, painted, or used in museum exhibition (Steward, 1934).

Graburn, Lee, & Rousselot (1996) discussed the creation of the Alaska Commercial Company Collection of Native Alaskan groups. Their goal was to create a large, interdisciplinary-based team-based project that worked to create a "catalogue raisonné" of the Alaska Commercial Company Collection in the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology in California, so that all the information pertaining to it would be available to Native Alaskans, artists, students, collectors, and scholars. The publication is interesting, as it is a comprehensive catalogue of one large collection, including its mode of acquisition by the original collector (the Alaska Commercial Company), and its history since acquisition by the Hearst Museum (then the University of California's Alaska Museum) in 1904. The historical background of the Alaska Commercial Company, particularly as it related to the collection of the objects, and the cultural context of each group of artifacts were examined. Each major group of artifacts (e.g., Eskimo and Athapaskan) in the collection was highlighted and critically examined. Graburn, et al, also recognized the collection itself as an artifact, and discussed the dynamic processes of classification and interpretation of the collection over time, "as it moves across cultural boundaries and through time from creation to consumption and redisplay" (1996, p. 9).

The catalogue of the entire collection, of almost 2,300 objects, includes a photograph of each one, with its catalogue (ion) number, object-type name in both English and in its corresponding Native language, a description of the object, cultural attribution, dimensions, and museological data such as former accession numbers, names of donors, or old label text. This work is valuable not only as a source of information on Alaskan material culture or the history of the Alaska Commercial Company, but also because it also acknowledged the day-to-day challenges that faced the team during the creation of such a comprehensive reference to one collection (Graburn, Lee, & Rousselot, 1996). This work could function as a useful model for the production of other catalogues, not only for the Edwards Collection but for other ethnographic collections. There are countless collections in museums that could benefit from the attention of a multi-disciplinary team of people engaged in telling its story.

Biographical Context of the Edwards Collection

I think of the idea of context as defined by Pearce (1993, p. 127): "in the human field [of classification] the meaning behind the category is created as much by historical understanding of function and location--in a word, context--as it is by an understanding of form." Pearce (1993, p. 127) describes three sets or kinds of context as it relates to collections and museums, the third being the one I am most concerned with:

1. The production context: why and how people physically created the objects.

2. The everyday context: how the objects were used within the creator's culture.

3. The collection context: this context does not at first involve the museum. The Edwards initially collected the objects, and had their own reasons for collecting them. Dr. Allan, on behalf of the university to help populate its first museum, had other reasons for the objects' acquisition, some of which overlapped that of the Edwards.

I found few models of analysis that really corresponded to the kinds of information I had found, and that fit with the conceptual research I had done prior to data collection. In looking at a collection as an element of culture, I began to think about how this element fit into a larger, systemic cultural framework also supported by human ecology. Prince (1992) in her research, used Pedersen (1988), who proposed a theoretical framework linking costume historical research with anthropological theory and "the human ecosystem framework" (p. 1). Of all the varied artifacts in the Edwards Collection,

the elements of clothing were often focussed on, as they contain much personal meaning for their makers, and were the object of much research, care, and exhibition during their time at the University of Alberta.

Prince described dress as a "micro-environment which is a response to physical and cultural environments" (Prince, 1992, p. 29). The need for dress, tools, jewellery, or games in a culture are in response to the natural and cultural environment, and the "transformation process" (Prince, 1992, p. 29) from raw material to object includes both physical and mental energy. The same thing can be said for the need for, production and maintenance of a collection both in the original collectors', and in the museum's cultural setting. The production of dress was described as a combination of factors: the physical and cultural environments that prompted the garment (the input), the design,

According to Touliatos and Compton (1988, p. 34.), clothing is an extension of the body, and "as both subject and object of perception (as both a stimulus and a response)." production, and communication involved in its production (the transformation), and the garment itself (the output) (Prince, 1992, p. 29). The output, can also be the "input" of another event, such as a collection of garments or other objects. This idea applies to the people who first identified a need for the garments and produced them according to available resources and cultural guidelines, to Dr. and Mrs. Edwards, who collected the garments, and to the University of Alberta, who acquired them for use as an educational and cultural resource. It is unknown what personal value was placed or invested in the garments by the people that gave or sold them to Dr. and/or Mrs. Edwards.

Contexts of the Collection at the University of Alberta

Although never discussed deliberately in any of the publications about its history, the Edwards Collection appears to have been in as many as four different contexts through its history at the University of Alberta. Its first context was related to that of cabinets of curiosity: Dr. Allan was fond of calling ethnographic collections of objects "curios". The objects were interesting as signs of ways of life that was disappearing, or had already. The collection's "curio context" lasted roughly between 1919 and 1951. It might be continued back into the Edwards' time, but they left no records about how they felt about their collecting, or what effect they were having on those who they acquired objects from. Another context the collection was connected to at the same time was to a

natural history context in the same museum under Allan's management (as were all other ethnographic materials stored there). Cross-cultural collections were often included with the natural history materials (and in some museums today, still are).

Under the management of the Department of Fine Arts (now Art and Design), from 1951 to 1966, whose metier was fine art, the collection was virtually ignored, and was stored away in the Medical Building until 1966 (the year of the flood which damaged some of the artifacts). A new, growing department whose concern was fine art and design, but had assumed management authority over ethnographic collections may not have known how to start with a collection such as this, with a different "aesthetic context" from the other materials and resources in the Department. The department also may not have know how to incorporate it into the courses and programmes it offered.

When the collection was transferred to the Department of Anthropology in 1967 by Art and Design, the biggest reason was because "traditionally, of course, ethnographic and archaeological collections are the responsibility of anthropologists" (UAA - Bryan, 1968, May 31). Now that it has been joined by the School of Native Studies, under the administration of the Department of Museums and Collections Services, its current "ethnographic context" is assured, but has the potential of becoming a stronger resource for Native students and the Native community. It has the potential of becoming better understood, and to be used for a variety of programmes.

Out of the over 17 million artifacts and specimens, four named museums, and over 30 collections on campus (Museums and Collections Services, 1997, August 14b; Museums and Collections Services, 1998, January 23), it is difficult to generalize about the qualities of the "university museum" or of "university collections", in how it relates to just one collection, but the two aspects of teaching and research are the cornerstones of the mission of the University of Alberta (Cloutier, 1995; Policy for the University of Alberta's Collections, 1993). The museums and collections managed by the University of Alberta are used mainly for that institution's faculty, staff, and students.

Summary

By using a case study approach to this research, I was able to focus on developing the elements of a biography of the Edwards Collection. There was much archival information available on the first museum at the University of Alberta, and the acquisition of the collection from Mrs. Edwards by the University of Alberta's Dr. Allan for

his Geology and Palaeontology Museum. The arrival of the contents of the collection piecemeal from Mrs. Edwards did not appreciably effect the contents of the collection as it was originally spelled out in Dr. Allan's press release to the general public. The Edwards Collection has an identity that has developed over almost a century rather than as a distinct, unchanging entity within the University of Alberta.

The stability of the Edwards Collection, which was in danger of possibly being broken up if circumstances demanded it, was maintained over most of the years since its arrival on campus, allowing a tracing of one path rather than several across campus or elsewhere. The management of the collection since its acquisition, its various locations, and uses showed that a variety of different departments were interested in its use on campus as a research, teaching, and interpretive resource. Concentration on a single collection allowed for a better understanding of the many people, events, and processes that have affected its life since its acquisition.

The primary ambition of artifact accumulation for a museum is knowledge-building, either through specific research projects, publications, or through public exhibition. The production of knowledge is a result of human social interaction, as are artifact collections. This human social interaction with the collection resulted in four changes in context over the years since its acquisition. The character of the Edwards Collection as an educational and research resource since 1919 for the University of Alberta, in terms of the access to it and use by the university and the public was also discussed. The University acknowledges that collections are central to the mission of the University and provide valuable, concrete resources for educational programs and research projects (Policy for the University of Alberta's Collections, 1993).

Figure 1. O.C. Edwards. S.J. Jarvis, Ottawa (18–)
(University of Alberta Archives, Accession No. 78-62-2).

Figure 2. Henrietta Muir Edwards. S.J. Jarvis, Ottawa (189-) (University of Alberta Archives, Accession No. 78-62-4).

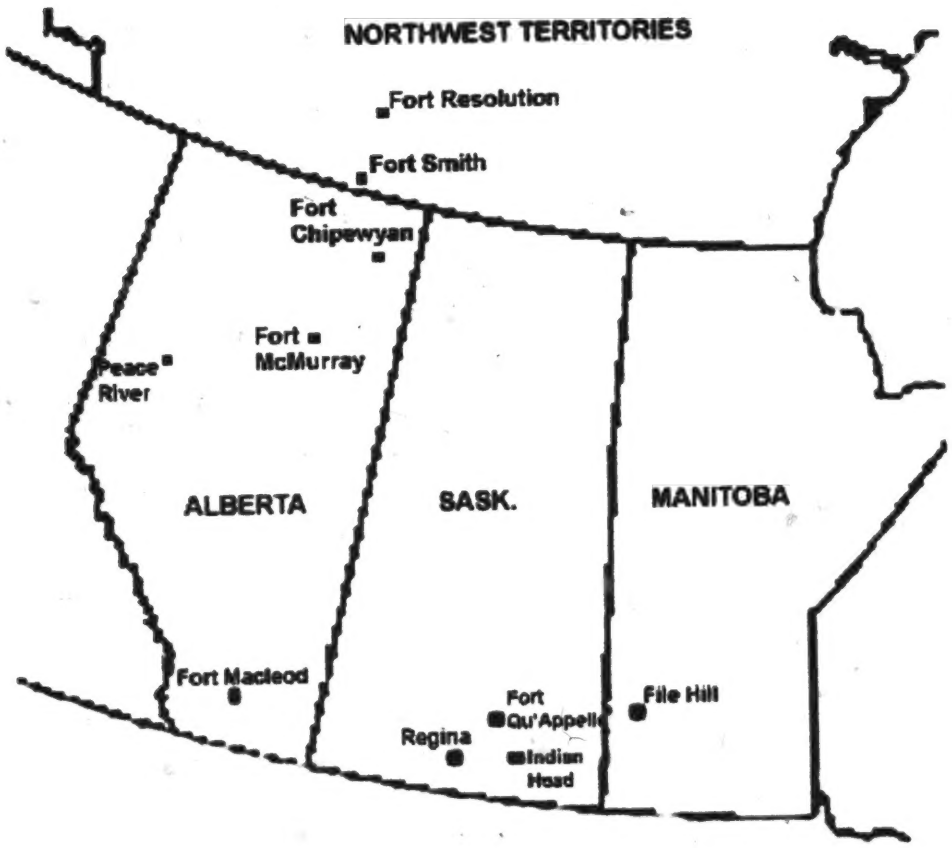

Figure 3. Map of Canada (Newton, 1997) showing the locations of the Edwards' areas of collection: File Hill in Manitoba, Indian, Fort Qu'Appelle and Regina in Saskatchewan, Fort Macleod (now Macleod) near the Blood Reserve, Peace River, Fort McMurray, and Fort Chipewyan in Alberta, and Fort Smith and Fort Resolution, N.W.T.

Figure 4. "May, 1932. John Andrew Allan and three (Cree) Indians on steps of Arts Building" (University of Alberta Archives Accession No. 79-23-1168). Dr. Allan is standing second from the right. This photograph was taken on the day of the formal presentation of Poundmaker's tipi to the University of Alberta (ibid.).

Figure 5. An undated photograph of the Edwards Collection which was displayed in the Geology Museum at the University of Alberta (Provincial Archives of Alberta, Accession No. 67.294).

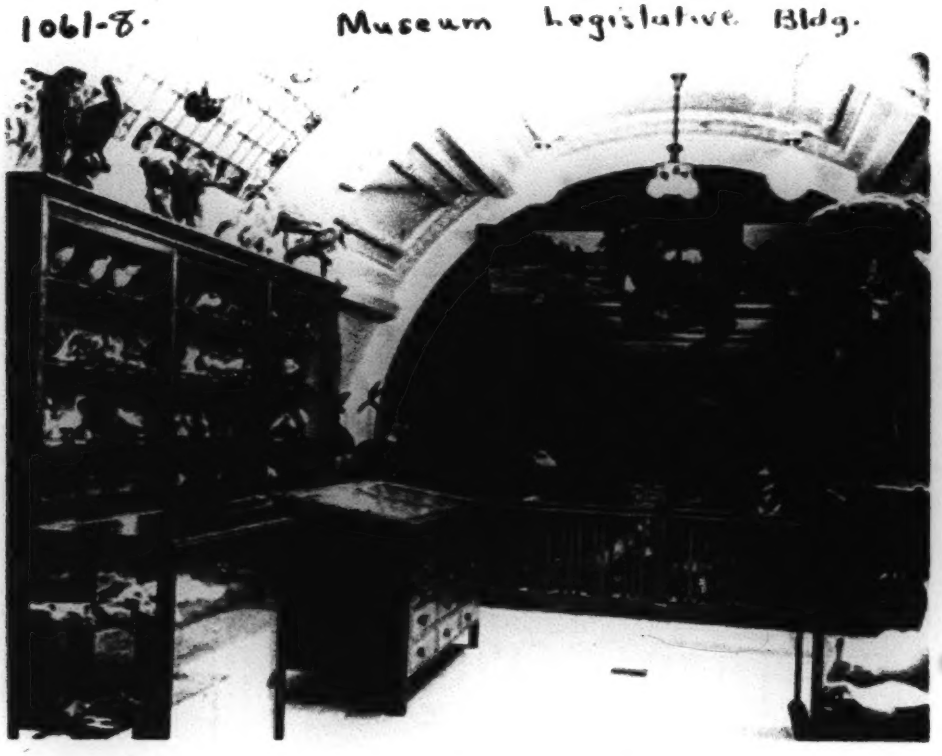

Figure 6. The museum in the Legislative Building, n.d. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, Accession No. 64.9).

Figure 7. A view of room TB 1-42 in the Tory Building, former home of the Department of Anthropology's Ethnographic Collections. The room, with a little more clutter than it usually did prior to the move of the collections to room TB-7, looks the same as it did prior to the move. The tops of the cabinets were used to hold objects for study, as were tables (unseen in this photograph). The room had windows, secured shut from vandalism and theft (upper right). Light filters were used for the fluorescent lighting. The room the collections moved to is smaller, but more organized in terms of what is stored where (Photograph L. Hart, April 1996).

CHAPTER 4: RECOMMENDATIONS

If the study of the history and development of a collection of material culture can represent, or be an indicator of change or continuity over time in a museum's role, policies, or ideology, then a contextual approach to the past can form an inspiring and provocative link with the contemporary problems of what to do with ethnographic collections in universities and museums. My research findings described and discussed in Chapter 3 helped to produce the recommendations for the uses of the Edwards Collection. There are placed under two themes: access and research.

Access

1. A comprehensive catalogue of the Edwards Collection has never been written. An interdisciplinary group of people would best generate such a catalogue, including members of the original cultures which produced the items. Their purpose would be to prepare a complete description of all the artifacts in the collection, and their role in the original culture, with their uses as part of a university collection. The information gathered and learned about the history and development of Native material culture collections would also be of value to the First Nation(s) who wish to learn from this collection, as either descendants of those who originally produced the artifacts, or who produce the same or similar ones today for example. The increasing enrollment of native students and the development of the School of Native Studies, and the recent development of the Certificate Program in Libraries, Archives and Museum Studies for Native students on campus underlines the need for increased knowledge and access Native material culture housed at the University of Alberta. Other groups or institutions from outside the University of Alberta that have already expressed interest (or might) in this collection, including other universities, Native communities and historical societies, for example, will conceivably find the results of this project of value.

2. The use of technology, particularly computers and sophisticated database softwares have become ubiquitous and entrenched in universities. Research is needed to investigate how the use of technology is being, and can be used to manage and control the use of information resources (here, of artifact collections), and be used effectively for teaching and research. As well, how people work with technology in order to generate

and produce knowledge in concert with material culture for teaching and research would be a useful research endeavour.

3. According to Ames, through interpretation and exhibition of material culture, "museum anthropologists are thus helping to manufacture the objects they study" (Ames, 1981, p. 14). Researchers who focus their energies in the field of material culture could perhaps benefit from the approaches of other disciplines to their own collections of knowledge. In disciplines such as English, novels have and will be studied by people from a variety of different disciplines for various reasons using various methods; this is considered acceptable and expected. The same goes for the study of periods in history or historical figures for another example. Why is there a difference in perception between departments/disciplines toward studying the "same" artifact over and over?

Research

1. With the tendency to "cut first and ask questions later" in terms of budgets for many institutions, the need is great to assess the present value of collections as an information resource and to document the actual and possible effects on the cutting of financial and human resources on the use of collections for teaching, research, and knowledge-building in general. A related area of study would be to research the variety of university departments and related disciplines that could benefit from the inclusion of collection-based research in their projects or curricula. Examples of departments that do not often use artifacts in teaching or research presently include many "non-artifact-based" anthropological disciplines, history, English, recreation and leisure studies, and women's studies, for examples. Limited resources for budgets and personnel for many university departments must lead to a more effective and efficient use of resources for teaching and research. Research could address how more than one department at a time could use collections to save money, people, and ultimately space (for storage and classroom space.) Research could be used to evaluate how human beings cope with the changes in available information resources, and document both beneficial and harmful institutional coping mechanisms. The transition to an interdisciplinary or interdepartmental use of information resources where such a process is active, would also result in valuable information of use to the university as a whole in terms of teaching and research.

2. Most of the artifact collections in both universities and museums are never on display, or studied regularly, if at all. There is reluctance, based on a survey of the published literature, by researchers who study material culture to study artifacts already in storage, that have already been described and catalogued. Today, universities are facing increasingly complex decisions involving demands on their resources during times of economic stress and social change. Future research into the impact of economic and social change as it pertains to the use of collections which already exist for teaching and research should be looked at. Another research area is to discover the variety of university departments and related disciplines that could benefit from the inclusion of collection-based research in their projects or curricula. Examples of departments that do not often use artifacts in teaching or research presently include many "non-artifact-based" anthropological disciplines, history, english, recreation and leisure studies, and women's studies, for examples.

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GA Glenbow Archives
NA National Archives of Canada
NW Newspaper articles
PAA Provincial Archives of Alberta
PMA Provincial Museum of Alberta Master Files
UAA University of Alberta Archives
UDR University Departmental Records

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Inventory list of Edwards Collection, c. 1919. This list was compiled from the undated five page list (labelled "10b") that Mrs. Edwards wrote by hand for Dr. Allan (on his own personalized notepaper (Department of Geology and Mineralogy letterhead) and an undated three page typewritten transcription of her list (labelled "10c"). Any words in parentheses are mine. Any words "crossed out" was done by Mrs. Edwards. (University of Alberta Archives, Accession 78-62-29)

(page 1)
1 pair of beaded armlets.
fishing net far north - made of fibre.
Woman (sic) red cloth dress with beaded deerskin yoke and deerskin gussets. Blood Reserve
1 war club
For (fur?) Harpoon seal Far North
Indian game wheel & arrow
knife sheath
Woman's leggings
porcupine head dress
bag made out of unborn buffalo calf
leather
6 needle cases - one with ivory to peice (?) ~~skin~~
caribo (sic) gloves pair, Fort Resolution
~~3 leather bags beaded and ornament with porcupine quill~~
~~Medicine tray~~ (or bag?) ~~to~~
fire bag beaded and quill work
1 pair of baby mogasins (sic)
two (?) (unintelligible word) of woven sweet grass

(page 2)
1 beaded band for blanket white beaded ground
1 " " " " " ground 3 disc designs
1 " " " " white, blue, & red beads
2 pairs of beaded leather bands for leggings or shirt
3 " of beaded disks for women's blankets - used as fasteners
15 bags made by Kootenay Indians, bought on Blood Reserve
wooden bowl
leather waistcoat - white beaded ground
beaded waistcoat, blue ground riding sun
belonged to Sumilcand (?) Indian on (?) Blood Reserve

horne bonnett (sic) human ~~skull~~ scalp lock
Indian bow & six feather arrows
Indian chief's costume, shirt blanket (?) cloth
bead bands & ermine skins, 2 semlet (?) cloth leggings,
beaded bands & ermine skins - 3 Head dress,
Eagle feathers & ermine skins

Tomahawk
Indian splints for broken leg Blood Reserve 1905
~~Blood~~ Indian horse whip
~~bone and steel instruments for scraping hides made from Buffalo and Deer bone~~

(page 3)
child's costume - all he wore 2½ years of age
1 charm round neck [piece of his own navel cord inside of bag]
2 belts, 3 knife shield, 4 leggings & 5 mogasins (sic)

white skin shirt with woven beaded bands
" " " " beaded dear (sic) skin bands
Indian chair hung on one of the pole of the tent for reclining.
The man sits on the end on the ground on which has been spread a fur robe.

A little girls dress - deer skin ornaments with beads
man's leather leggings with ornament beads worked directly on the leggings
Man's leather leggings with beaded bands of deer skin
" " "
man's white skin shirt ornamented with bands of dear (sic) skin covered
with dyed (?) porcupine quills

leather fire bag ornamented with dyed porcupine work B. Reserve
leather gun case - ornamented with beads B. Reserve
leather waist coat beaded all over
large beaded band ornament for man's blanket worn down the back
6 women's leather beaded belts
ornamented steel for sharpening knife
white skin fire bag, 2 pairs of beaded bands for shirt or (and?) leggings
---

(page 4)
in trunk (?)
bag made out of hide ~~decorated~~ painted
porcupine quill & feather decoration for horse

red cloth decoration for chest of horse
saddle cloth
3 leather bags beaded & ornamented & decorated with dyed porcupine quills
black cloth beaded vest Indian Head
1 leather deer skin woman's dress
child's armlets
beaded ornament for tomahawk
5 small bags
2 pairs of mogas (moccasins)
saddle cloth - B.R. 1910
1 blue cloth fire bag
1 pair of beaded mocasins (sic)
bag made of deer skin legs

Cree old tobacco pouch worn over shoulders
2 pairs of armlets
neck ornaments and 8 little bags

(page 5)
Indian gauntlets with Martin (marten) fur trimming
1 ~~leather~~ deer skin woman's dress beaded
Seven neck ornaments - (word unintelligible) then claws, one real claws the other made out of the sinew of a steer.

5 little bags, one watch pocket
2 pairs of mogasins (sic) deer skin worked (?) in selk (silk?) from Far North 1900

2 pairs of white Caribou mogasins (sic)
1 " " deerskin "
from Far North

1 horse saddle frame of wood covered with green hide which shrinks to frame
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Appendix 2. The Edwards' Indian and Eskimo Collection: List of Exhibits taken from Room 58, 9 Jan. 51(University of Alberta Archives, Accession 82-131-108). This list was produced it just before the O.C. Edwards Collection moved from the Arts Building to the Rutherford Library in 1951. This document shows a total of about 247 objects in the collection (The Edwards' Indian and Eskimo Collection, 1951), but it is not known if all objects were counted singly, or as one item if part of a pair (of moccasins) for example.

Object	No.	Object	No.	Object	No.
Buffalo hide (decorated)	1		136	Cumoly woven cloth (Ceylon)	unnumbered
Fishing net from far north	2	Woman's vest	133	Harpoon (Eskimo)	"
Harpoon from north with cord, etc. (2138)	3	Decoration for back of man's blanket	137	Eskimo bow (broken)	"
Eskimo knife	4	Arm decoration	138	Quiver of arrows (Eskimo?) (3151)	"
Indian chair	6	Neck ornament	140	Beaded gauntlets	(4224)
Indian chair	7	Vest	142	Map	"
Indian chair	8	Vest	143	Blue band	"
Fibre bag	(8)	Blue bead vest	144	Two rattle snake skins	"
Chair back cover	9	Man's leggings	145	Bag for carrying food	"
Powder horn	11	Blanket ties	146	Beaded vest (Cree)	"
Pair of buffalo horns	12	Ties for Indian blanket	147		
Pair of buffalo horns	13	Blanket tie	148		
Tomahawk	14	Ornament for blanket	149		

Object	No.	Object	No.	Object	No.
Decoration from Tomahawk	15	Ornament for Man's blanket	150		
Saddle hook	17	Band for man's blanket	154		
Woman's saddle	18	Bands for shirt or leggings	155A		
Woman's saddle	19	Bands for shirt or leggings	155B		
Knife case	20	Band	157		
Gun case	21	Beaded moccasins	158		
Gun case	22	Beaded moccasins	159		
Decoration for a horse	23	Baby moccasins	160		
Indian whip	24	Pair of moccasins	161		
Indian bowl	25	Woman's leather dress	163		
Hoop	28	Child's dress and leggings	164		
Rings	29	Woman's dress	165		
	215	Coat	166		
Medicine brush	32	Beaded moccasins	167		
Woman's war club	35	Moccasins	168		
Arrow shaft	36	Moccasins	169		
Bone instrument	37	Moccasins	170		
Idol called buffalo stone	38	Band for shirt or leggings	156A		
Idol for buffalo hunt	39	Band for shirt or leggings	156B		

Object	No.	Object	No.	Object	No.
Instrument for scaping fat from hide	40	Beaded moccasins	172		
Instrument for scraping hides	41	Pair moccasins	173		
Feathered headdress	42	Pair moccasins	174		
Pasqua's fan	43	Leggings	175		
Feathered headdress	44	Armlet	176		
Willow bark rope	44	Armlet	177		
Instrument for scraping hide	45	Man's shirt	178		
Hide scraper	46	Man's shirt	179		
Hide scraper	47	Chest ornament	180		
Instrument for scraping hide	48	Coat	182		
Hide scraper	49	Pasqua's shirt	183		
Hide scraper	50	Leggings	184		
Cases for carrying food	51	Fire bag	185		
Cases for carrying food	52	Beaded moccasins	186		
Bag	68	Men's chaps	187		
Fire bag	69	Leggings	188		
Fire bag	71	Bonnet	190		
Little pouch	73	Horned bonnet	191		
Pouch	74	Horned bonnet	192		
Little pouch	75	Ornamental stone	193		
Pouch	76	A charm (in paper bag)	193		

Object	No.	Object	No.	Object	No.
Pouch (very old)	87	Human scalp and buffalo horn	196		
Beaded pouch	81	Gauntlets	198		
Tiny pouch	80	Decoration for a horse's neck	200		
Beaded pouch	85	Moccasins	202		
Bag	86	Belt(?) Qu'Appelle	203		
Bags	87	Beaded armlets	203		
Little pouch	87	Pair moccasins (child's)	203		
Beaded pouch	88	Case	203		
Fibre bag	89	Ornamental stone	203		
Bag worn at belt	90	Headdress	204		
Child's glove (?)	91	Two garters ?	206		
Beaded pouch	92	Sacred moccasins	207		
Bag	93	Indian comb	208		
Tobacco pouch	94	Knife case	209		
Bag	95	One moccasin	210		
Medicine bag	96	One pair moccasins (child's)	212		
Skin bag	97	One pair moccasins (child's)	213		
Bag	98	Band	214		
Bag	99	Scoop	216		
Fibre bags plus two without labels	101	Knife for scraping hide	217		
	102	Arm band	223		
	103	Leggings	223		

Object	No.	Object	No.	Object	No.
	105	Ornament for blanket	223		
	110	Bronze bangle	224		
	114	Buffalo horn scoop	226		
Fibre bag	106	Buffalo stone	228		
Fibre bag	107	Doll	230		
Fibre bag	108	Garter	232		
Fibre bags	109	Bone scraper	235		
	112	Fire bag	70		
	113	Pair moccasins	701		
Knife sharpener	115	Quiver of arrows (Eskimo)	2415		
Woven sweet grass	116	Gambling bones	4034		
Needle case	118	Gambling bones	4035		
Needle cases	119	Little pouch	4057		
	121	Beaded gloves	4191		
Had band	124	Pair moccasins	4197		
Neck ornament	124	Bow (no string) with six arrows	4006		
Chest ornament with girl's dress	126	Bow (unnumbered)	(2425)		
Girl's dress	189	Decoration for back of man's blanket	4135		
Chest ornament	129	Poundmaker's Teepee			
Woman's dress	181	Scoop made from horn			
Belt	131	In. pipes from far north etc. in brown paper bag	Unnumbered		

Object	No.	Object	No.	Object	No.
Belts	132	Beaded ornament	4225		
	134	Ornamental stone	4206		
	135	Scoop made from horn	unnumbered		